

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

GUSTAV GRUENEBAUM

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

WILLIAM KURRELMAYER

KEMP MALONE

JOSE ROBLES

HAZELTON SPENCER

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BALTIMORE

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A Monthly Publication with Intermission from July to October (Inclusive)

EDITED BY

H. Carrington Lancaster, Gustav Gruenbaum, W. Kursslmeyer,
Raymond D. Havens, Kemp Malone, H. Spencer, and J. Robles

ADVISORY EDITORS

G. Chinard, E. Feise, Grace Frank, J. C. French, R. B. Roulston, L. P. Shank

The Subscription Price of the current annual volume is \$5.00
for the United States and Mexico and \$5.50 for other countries
included in the Postal Union. Single issues, price seventy-five cents.

Contributors and Publishers should send manuscripts and books for review to the Editors of Modern Language Notes, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., indicating on the envelope whether the contribution concerns English, German, or Romance. Every manuscript should be accompanied by a stamped and addressed return envelope. In accepting articles for publication, the editors will give preference to those submitted by subscribers to the journal. Foot-notes should be numbered continuously throughout each article; titles of books and journals should be italicized; titles of articles enclosed in quotation marks. Quotation marks are not used in verse quotations that form a paragraph. Write II, 3, not vol. II, p. 3. The following abbreviations are approved: *DNB*, *JEGP*, *MLN*, *MLR*, *MP*, *NED*, *PMLA*, *PQ*, *RR*, *SP*, *RES*, *TLS*. Proof and MS. should be returned to the editors with an indication of the total number of reprints desired. Subscriptions and other business communications should be sent to The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland.

PRIMITIVISM AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

IN ENGLISH POPULAR LITERATURE OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(Contributions to the History of Primitivism)

By LOIS WHITNEY

Plentiful as the materials have been, this study is not designed as a compendium of all the popular literature illustrative of primitivism and progressivism of the period covered. Many pertinent documents have been omitted because they have been adequately treated elsewhere, and other material because it is in process of being studied by other scholars. The author has selected from the available material popular documents that are as fresh but at the same time as thoroughly representative as possible, and that tell as clearly as any the story of the gradual degeneration and confusion of these two ideologies. To get a proper perspective on the popular literature, Dr. Whitney has analyzed the net-work of background ideas of primitivism in Chapter I, and of the idea of progress in Chapters V and VI. She has tried to determine what aspects of the various schools of thought of the century lent themselves to the former point of view and what to the latter, and what were the probable sources of confusion between the two ways of thinking.

364 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$2.75

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS . . . BALTIMORE

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1104,
Act of Congress of July 16, 1894.

Modern Language Notes

Volume XLIX

DECEMBER, 1934

Number 8

THOMAS HANMER AND THE ANONYMOUS ESSAY ON *HAMLET*

The quite notable anonymous essay on *Hamlet* of 1736¹ has been attributed to Thomas Hanmer solely because of a tentative remark in Sir Henry Bunbury's *Memoir*.² Yet there is strong evidence that Hanmer could have had nothing to do with the essay. If this evidence is not conclusive, it is at least sufficient to establish a doubt too strong to be ignored.

Hanmer's attitude toward Pope and Theobald is not that of the anonymous author. Hanmer is a disciple of Pope; 'Anonymous' accepts Theobald. Hanmer's professed aim in his edition was to support Pope in restoring Shakespeare's original text. He spoke warmly of Pope's judgment as editor and followed his example in

¹ *Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet*, London, 1736.

² *Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer*, with *A Memoir of His Life*, Ed. Sir Henry Bunbury, London, 1838. "I have reason to believe," Bunbury writes, "that he was the author of some works which were published anonymously, and have been attributed to other writers; particularly a Review of *Paradise Lost*, 'in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered,' printed in 1733; and *Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet*, published in 1736" ("Memoir," 79-80). Bunbury also assumes that Pope's attack on Hanmer in *The Dunciad* was caused by the passage in the *Remarks* in which the author deprecates Pope as editor and critic. "I suspect that in spite of the deprecating assurance, that the writer regarded Pope as the first of English poets, this comparison . . . was the occasion of my worthy ancestor's being dragged into the Fourth Book of the *Dunciad*, though Warburton afterwards tried to make it appear as an offering of friendship and justice to himself" ("Memoir," 81-82).

The *DNB*., probably following Bunbury, assigns the essay without qualification to Hanmer. Professor D. Nichol Smith, clearly on the word of Bunbury, accepts with every evidence of certainty the tradition of Hanmer as author (*Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, Glasgow, 1903, pp. xx and liii). Professor Raynor ("The Downfall of the Unities," *MLN*., XLII, 2) notes that this essay has been attributed to Thomas Hanmer, and

relegating to footnotes passages which Theobald had restored;³ he even reprinted Pope's Preface with his own. He did not, as Warburton spleenetically charged, ignore Theobald's edition, for he at times adopted his detailed readings. But such debts were not acknowledged. Theobald is not even mentioned in the Preface, except as he is included by implication among those editors who, contrary to the good example of Pope, have helped mutilate Shakespeare. So far as known opinion is concerned then, Hanmer inclines decisively to Pope.⁴ In contrast, the author of *Some Remarks*, though acknowledging Pope's genius as a poet, definitely rejected him as a critic and editor in favor of Theobald:

In the Course of these Remarks, I shall make use of the Edition of this Poet, given us by *Mr. Theobalds* because he is generally thought to have understood our Author best, and certainly deserves the Applause of all his Countrymen for the great Pains he has been at to give us the best Edition of this Poet which has yet appear'd. I would not have Mr. Pope offended at what I say, for I look upon him as the greatest genius in Poetry that has ever appear'd in England: But the Province of an Editor and a Com-

adds that Lounsbury "without offering evidence . . . questions the attribution." Elsewhere, he guardedly places a question mark after each mention of Hanmer in connection with the *Remarks* (see Coleridge's *Shakespearian Criticism*, I, pp. xviii and 41). Mr. R. W. Babcock (*The Genesis of Shakespearian Idolatry*, University of North Carolina Press, 1931) is less cautious. He does put a question mark after Hanmer's name as author of the *Remarks* (Appendix A, p. 249), but in the text he regularly attributes to Hanmer statements cited from the essay (pp. 5, 6, 7), with only a first note reading, 'This text is generally attributed to Hanmer.' Of important critics, only Lounsbury has seriously challenged Bunbury's word. Hanmer's authorship of the essay, he declares, "is so improbable that it may be called impossible. The sentiments expressed in it are not Hanmer's sentiments" (*Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, 60).

³ For example, see *Hamlet*, the twenty lines beginning "This heavy-headed revel," I, vii (Hanmer, VI, 338). Hanmer not only throws this passage to the bottom of the page, but quotes Pope's note verbatim. Similar instances of such deference to Pope's judgment may be found in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, iv, v and vi, and II, vi (v in Pope). Pope had in each case rejected the passage, Theobald had restored it; Hanmer had followed Pope in rejecting it.

⁴ Bunbury ignores such evidence entirely. Of the incompatibility in his belief in Hanmer's authorship of the *Remarks* and Hanmer's obvious preference for Pope in the 1744 Edition, he seems blissfully unaware, as is shown in his fatuous comment, "The [Hanmer's] preference given to Theobald's compared with Pope's edition, is avowed in the remarks on *Hamlet* which I have before mentioned" ("Memoir," 81, 82).

mentator is quite foreign to that of a Poet. The former endeavours to give us an Author as he is; the latter, by the Correctness and Excellency of his own Genius, is often tempted to give us an Author as he thinks he ought to be.⁵

It is highly improbable that the Hanmer who so openly proclaimed allegiance to Pope in his edition and preface could have written this. Nor is there evidence that Hanmer changed his mind on Pope between 1736 and the time his edition was published in 1744.⁶

Of less importance, yet of significance, is the admiration of 'Anonymous' for Addison. He considers Addison "the true Model for all Criticks to follow,"⁷ frankly sets out, in presenting his author, to emulate his example, and even adopts his general style of writing. This is incompatible with Hanmer's preference for Pope as a critic. Moreover, Hanmer gives no evidence in his known works of having been at all impressed by Addison's ideas or his methods, certainly not as were many of his contemporaries, Theobald, in case, who not only quotes Addison as a celebrated writer on Milton,⁸ but follows him in some of his critical principles.⁹ Such a difference in allegiance suggests that 'Anonymous' and Hanmer were temperamentally diverse.

⁵ *Some Remarks*, 3. Contrast these words with the following sentences from Hanmer's Preface: "From what causes it proceeded that the works of this Author in the first publication of them were more injured and abused than perhaps any that ever pass'd the Press, hath been sufficiently explained in the Preface to Mr. Pope's Edition which is here subjoined, and there needs no more to be said upon that subject. . . . Most of those passages are here thrown to the bottom of the page and rejected as spurious, which were stigmatized as such in Mr. Pope's Edition; and it were to be wished that more had then undergone the same sentence."

A further example of this contrast in attitudes is the treatment of the passage in *Hamlet*, I, vii, descriptive of the king's rouse, beginning "This heavy-headed revel." Hanmer, like Pope, throws it out, as "too verbose" (vii, 338). "Anonymous" does not much like the speech but sees it as dramatically necessary, and approves Theobald for retaining it (p. 27).

⁶ Hanmer was working on his edition, in which he continually paid honor to Pope, at least from 1737 to its publication. Warburton wrote to the Rev. Thomas Birch on October, 1737, "Hanmer . . . has done great things in this Author [Shakespeare]" (Smith, *op. cit.*, lvii). Bunbury suggests that he may have begun it as early as 1733, immediately after the publication of Theobald's *Shakespeare* ("Memoir," 81).

⁷ Introduction to *Some Remarks*, v.

⁸ Smith, *op. cit.*, 86.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 73, 74, 84, 85.

Contrary to what we might in logic expect if Hanmer had written the *Remarks*, there are important differences between the text of Hanmer's edition and parallel passages quoted by 'Anonymous.' For instance, where Hanmer has, "That he might not let e'en the winds of Heav'n,"¹⁰ 'Anonymous' follows Theobald exactly in writing, "That he would not let e'en the winds of Heav'n."¹¹ Again, where Hanmer's editions reads,

A little month!—or e'er those shoes were old
With which she follow'd my poor father's body
Like Niobe, all tears—Why she, Ev'n she,—
Oh Heav'n! a beast that wants discourse of reason
Would have mourn'd longer—married with mine uncle,

the essay gives,

A little Month; e'er yet those Shoes were old
With which she follow'd my poor Father's Body,
Like Niobe, all Tears; Why she, even she,
(Oh Heav'n, a Beast that wants Discourse of Reason,
Would have mourn'd longer) married with mine Uncle,

The only actual change in wording here is "e'er yet" for "or e'er" (*even* for *ev'n* is a matter of spelling only), but the styles are different. The employment of a quite different system of punctuation, including parentheses and a liberal sprinkling of capitals, contributes to the impression that these two passages were not edited by the same hand. Indeed, there are altogether in the complete soliloquy (the longest single passage 'Anonymous' quotes) *no less than seventy-five variations* from the text as printed by Hanmer. Hanmer, we may well believe, would have better agreed with himself.¹²

A comparison of prose styles further weakens the assumption of Hanmer's authorship of the essay. The rhythm and tone are not

¹⁰ VII, 329.

¹¹ *Some Remarks*, 19.

¹² It is true that 'Anonymous' is not consistent in his readings. In general he follows Theobald, whose text he constantly has before him for page number and other reference, but he does not stick closely to his original. His punctuation and spelling at times vary from Theobald's, and in at least one case he seems to be quoting, erroneously, from memory, when, unlike Pope, Theobald, and Hanmer, he omits 'flat' from the line "How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable." This very indication of carelessness however, is further evidence against Hanmer's authorship of the essay. Hanmer was assuredly not a careless editor.

his: he is habitually more dignified and restrained than the anonymous author; there is an academic formality in his manner, a slow movement of his sentences lengthening into rounded periods. He speaks of himself with exaggerated formality in the third person, as "One of the great Admirers of this incomparable Author" and "The promoter of the present Edition"; he uses the already archaic "hath" in the third person singular. This is in the Preface to his Shakespeare, but even in his letters his manner is much the same. The anonymous author writes in an informal, quick-moving style, not unlike the familiar manner of Addison. He speaks of himself in the first person: "I am going to do what to some may appear extravagant." "It does, I own, at first seem hard to be accounted for, but I think these reasons may be given for it." His sentences are often short, or if long, are uninvolved, simple, clear. His style is relaxed by many "very's," "so's," and "surely's." He writes "he has," never "he hath."¹³ In general, the easy, near conversational style of the essay is so unlike the pedantic formality of Hanmer's Preface as to compel assent to Professor Lounsbury's judgment that Hanmer's authorship of the *Remarks* "is so improbable that it may be called impossible."¹⁴

Who then wrote the essay? I regret my inability to make a safe conjecture. Certainly it was not Warburton, who seems to have been considered.¹⁵ I have followed a dozen leads pointing toward possible authors, including William Smith,¹⁶ the translator of

¹³ Even in such matters as capitalizing nouns, 'Anonymous,' who, like Theobald, quite consistently follows the early eighteenth century mode, differs from Hanmer. Hanmer capitalizes only important, 'Anonymous' practically all, nouns. Further, 'Anonymous,' also like Theobald, frequently uses 'd for ed as in *pleas'd*, *work'd*, *observ'd*; Hanmer retains the e.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 60.

¹⁵ The Bodleian copy of the *Remarks* bears on its fly-leaf a note to the effect that the authorship of this essay has been ascribed to Warburton. But the writer of the note dismisses the suggestion with a curt but effective argument, based on the fact that Warburton and the author disagreed on Shakespeare's intent in the lines in Hamlet spoken by the strolling player. Dr. Warburton thought they were meant as sublime poetry, the author of this essay as burlesque. Further decisive evidence lies in the deference to Addison in the *Remarks*. Warburton's remarks on Addison in his Preface and the well-established tradition of his dislike make it improbable that he would have paid the author of the *Spectator* any such compliment.

¹⁶ Smith's translation of Longinus was made in 1739, three years after

Longinus, and Theobald himself, only to end with insufficient or contradictory evidence. It has not, however, been my purpose to name a substitute candidate, but rather to show the undoubted falsity of the whole tradition of Hanmer's authorship.

CLARENCE D. THORPE

University of Michigan

AN ELIZABETHAN BALLAD OF MALMEROPHUS
AND SILLERA

The fragments collected by Francis Douce and by him given to the Bodleian Library contain part of an interesting Elizabethan ballad, dated 1582, that seems to have escaped notice.¹ So early a specimen deserves at least a passing word. It was, according to custom, printed in two columns on a broadside, but only about a third—the bottom of the sheet—remains. Fortunately the colophon is preserved intact: “LONDON/ Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, for Edwarde White: And are to be/ *solde at his Shoppe, at the little North doore of Paules Church, at the Signe of the Gunne. 1582.*”

The first column runs thus:

Triumphantlie by worthie Peeres,
whose famous deedes were knownen.
Amids which troupe was chose, *Malmerophus* the faire:
Which sighte to see, braue beauties Nimpes,
like Angels did prepare.
But one among the crewe,
was *Sillera* vnkinde:
Whom to requite with seuere doome,
the Gods a way did finde.
So he who scorned loue,
had like for like ordaind:

the publication of the essay on *Hamlet*. He prefaced his translation with an interesting “Life and Writings of Longinus,” and appended liberal notes. He professed discontent with modern critics and critical methods, praised Addison as belonging to the Longinus tradition, and was in general an advocate of a sympathetic criticism interested in beauties rather than faults.

¹ It is, however, listed in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave's *A Short-title Catalogue of Books*, 1926, No. 17212.

The Knights on Steedes, with staffe in hande,
to Iuste and sporte attaind.
O cruell fate, and cursed state:
Preparde, fast snarde,
For such a scornefull mate.

The second column reads:

Her Sampler [was a]bout her cast:
She hied, [t]ime spied,
To weare her sorrowes past.
Vpon a greene willowe, there hanged this Ladie:
A Tragical ending, beleue me as may be.
Malmerophus missing the sight of his Louer,
went wandring hether and thether:
And thought if he met her, with faire words to proue her,
he did so, they met both together:
With sprite all appalled, and colour cleane changed,
he cut down his Lady in vayn:
And found in the Sampler, the words which she fayned,
that bread this great dolour and payn.
He ² made no more to doo:
But there he ended too.
Her Sampler off he tooke:
and so his life forsooke.

From these few lines the story does not clearly emerge, but it can be found in *A little Treatise called the Image of Idleness, contayning certaine matters mooued betweene Walter Wedlock, and Bawdin Bachelor/ translated out of the Troyan or Cornish tung into English/ by Oliuer Oldwanton/ and dedicated to the Lady Lust. Newly corrected and augmented, 1574*,³ whence the anonymous ballad-writer perhaps got his information about the luckless lovers.

[B8] There was also not long agone in Ge- [B8] noa, bothe a knight and a Lady, who for the excellencie of their persons and qualities, were of such fortune, that diuers sued vnto them for loue, and could by no meanes obtain. For not regarding faithful hart and good minde, they coueted so much high Parentage & great abilitie that they thought none of their suters worthie to be accepted. The Knights name was *Malmerophus*, and the

² The original has printer's leads showing in place of the e.

³ William Seres, its publisher, originally issued the book in 1558, entering it at Stationers' Hall early in that year as "the Image of idelnes." The passage I quote from the 1574 edition has no verbal differences from that in the 1558 edition, where it appears on sigs. C1v-C2.

Ladies *Sillera*, who at length by th'appointment of *Venus* fel both int'loue and wer amorous eche of other. Then either of them called to remembraunce how many Suters they had suffred to perish by their obstinacie in loue before time. And therevpon fell into dispaire by remorse of conscience, thincking verily that in so much as they had so misused *Venus* lawes, *Venus* (from whom al grace to obtain in loue dooth proceed) would graunt them none, although it were required and deuoutlie praied for. In somuch that the one of them neuer durst motion the other of loue, alwaies tormented them selues with inward desire and desperate thoughts, till at length this Lady *Sillera* in folowing the feminine nature, which of necessitie, must by some meanes disclose their secret thoughts, [C1] wrought all her minde and oppinion with Silk in her Sampler, and soon after died only of loue longing, where of when *Malmerophus* had knowledge, and wist of her sampler as enraged for sorow, he strangled him self therwith and so miserably ended. Thus for lack of audacitie to disclose their mindes eche to other (which grace for their stubborn boldenesse in refusing of true louers before time, *Venus* withheld from them) they died all bothe at mischeef, whiche if it be wel noted, is a great ensample for other to eschew like offence in auoiding the like or wurse punishment.

HYDER E. ROLLINS

Harvard University

WHO WAS "THE LATE ARRIAN"?

When Thomas Kyd was arrested on a charge of sedition in the spring of 1593 his study was searched and a document, then called atheistical but really a defense of Unitarian principles, was discovered and put in evidence. Kyd, on being charged with atheism also and put to the torture, declared the document to be Marlowe's and to have been shuffled together with his own papers on occasion of their writing together in the same chamber some two years previous, and went on to fasten the charge of atheism on Marlowe so thoroughly that a warrant was issued for his arrest.

Thus much, as a result of the labors of a score of historians, is common knowledge, but there still remain a few words to say about this remarkable document itself,¹ irrespective of its consequences in the lives of two prominent literary men of the period. And indeed it has long been the subject of much learned conjecture.

¹ It is preserved in Har. MSS and has been printed by F. S. Boas, *Works of Kyd*, Introduction, pp. cx-cxiii; S. A. Tannenbaum, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, pp. 103-104; and W. D. Briggs, "On a Document Concerning Christopher Marlowe," *SP.*, xx (1923), 153-59.

ture. For years it was regarded as the work of the Cambridge Fellow Francis Kett,² apparently for no reason whatever except that he was a prominent Unitarian of the period who might have known Marlowe at Cambridge or in London. Consequently it was a very real contribution that Mr. W. D. Briggs made to the subject some ten years ago when he showed that the paper had been written, not by Kett, but by someone under arrest for Unitarianism in the year 1549. Mr. Briggs discovered that the book of a certain John Proctor, *The Fal of the Late Arrian*, published in 1549, had been devoted entirely to a refutation of the very paper found in Kyd's study. A copy of it had come to Proctor's hand, and following a favorite polemical device of the day, he had divided it into its main contentions and devoted a chapter to the refutation of each. When the quoted material at the beginning of his chapters is put together it is found to correspond exactly with the Kyd paper, although by some means the paragraphs or sections in Kyd's copy had been incorrectly arranged.

Proctor, however, for reasons of his own, chose not to reveal the name of the man whose opinions he was refuting. In his preface he says:

I intitle my treactise: The fall of the late Arrian: not disclosynge hys name throughe oute my worke, but under the name of Arrian: whom I wold be lothe to displease, if he hath Recanted that blasphemous opinion, as some saye that he hathe. This oure late Arrian therefore not long syncse was before certen of the Counsell & dyuers other Learned men, for his opinion, by whose procurement I know not. And deliuered the same his opinion with prouffes in writyng to the lord Archbishop of Caunterbury beyng therunto at length required, as in the begynnyng of his writyng he confesseth.

And Briggs, in spite of the valuable service he has performed by removing the name of Francis Kett from the discussion and showing that the document had been in existence since 1549, confesses that he is unable to penetrate behind Proctor's concealments and tell us who the author really was. At the end of his study he says:

² A. B. Grosart, *Life and Works of Greene*, I, 259, and Boas, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxx. Kett seems not to have become infected with Unitarianism until his return, in 1585, to his home in Norwich, at that time a center of the Arian heresy, where he was burned by the Bishop of the Diocese in 1589. There is not a scrap of evidence to connect him with Marlowe either at Cambridge or in London.

The resources at my disposal have not enabled me to identify the original author of the document. The printed records of the Privy Council for the few years previous to the publication of Proctor's book furnish a list of numerous persons who were called before that body and rebuked or otherwise punished for holding heretical doctrines . . . but I have seen no reference to any examination conducted by his Grace of Canterbury.³

Had Briggs looked into John Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*⁴ he would have found that the Archbishop conducted an examination of at least three persons charged with Arianism during the year 1549,⁵ and that these were Michael Thombe, Joan Bocher or Joan of Kent, and John Assheton. Michael Thombe, a tradesman of London, although denying the Trinity, was accused mainly of disbelieving in the efficacy of infant baptism. He confessed and recanted. Joan of Kent, the most famous one of the group, was a simple peasant maid who maintained her heresy and was burned at the stake by Cranmer's order. John Assheton, a parish priest, maintained his position sturdily for a while and set forth his opinions in writing, but finally by some means he was prevailed on to recant. Strype says that the tenor of the abjuration he made was as follows:

I, John Assheton, priest, of my pure heart, free-will, voluntary and sincere knowledge, confess and openly recognise, that in times past I thought, believed, said, held, and *presumptuously affirmed by subscription of my proper handwriting*,⁶ these errors, heresies, and damnable opinions following; that is to say, 1. That the Trinity of Persons was established by the Confession of Athanasius, declared by a psalm, *quinque vult*, &c.; and that the Holy Ghost is not God, but only a certain power of the Father. 2. That Jesus Christ, that was conceived of the Virgin Mary, was a holy prophet, and especially beloved of God the Father; but that He was not the true and living God; forasmuch as He was seen, and lived, hungered, and thirsted. 3. That this only is the fruit of Jesus Christ's passion; that whereas we were strangers from God, and had no knowledge of His testament, it pleased God by Christ to bring us to the acknowledging of His holy power by the testament.⁷

In view of what has been said it seems likely that this John Assheton was the original author of the document found in Kyd's

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁴ London, 1693.

⁵ There are not likely to have been more, for Strype declares that he has been through the great folio *Cranmer Register* page by page.

⁶ Italics mine.

⁷ I, 258.

study. He was the only person under arrest for Unitarianism in 1549 who is known to have written anything. Assheton recanted, and Proctor says he has heard that his opponent has recanted. Assheton was arrested December 28, 1548, and no doubt the trial was still in progress while Proctor was writing his book. This would account for his not having definite information on the subject. Furthermore, the tenor of Assheton's confession, as reported by Strype, corresponds in the main, and sometimes verbally, to the document Proctor was refuting. Finally, Assheton was a priest, and Proctor treats his adversary as one worthy of some reverence, concealing his name and being loath to displease him if he has recanted.

GEORGE T. BUCKLEY

Blue Mountain College

THE PEJORATIVE USE OF *METAPHYSICAL*

The pejorative use of *metaphysical* (or *metaphysics*) by both prose-writers and poets in the seventeenth century and later was common enough to affect our interpretation of the term as employed by Dryden and Johnson. They probably were acquainted with its pejorative sense¹ and therefore thought it doubly applicable to a species of poetry of which they did not approve. They did not intend the word as a slur; they did, however, share the general neo-classical distrust of abstract metaphysical notions, particularly when woven into love poetry. I think that the consciousness of the pejorative sense made both Dryden and Johnson choose *metaphysical* as an especially descriptive and fitting adjective.

Most commonly the term was used in seventeenth-century poetry

¹ That Johnson was has been claimed by Nethercot in his *Abraham Cowley* (Oxford, 1931), 281 ff., where he cites two eighteenth-century examples of the pejorative use, one in Chesterfield's *Letters* and the other in Warton's *Essay on Pope*. But according to Nethercot the disparagement was limited to style: "In other words, 'metaphysical' has become connected with certain qualities of manner or style. . . ." (282); and Johnson "confused" this use, suggesting stylistic disparagement, and Dryden's. But there was no confusion; neither was *metaphysical* limited to style when used pejoratively. As seventeenth-century usage proves, it also referred to extravagant thought.

simply to mean above the material world, supersensible, and hence above "nature" (in the limited sense). John Tatham, Samuel Austin, and Thomas Shipman provide examples of this ordinary use.² But, although Austin tends in that direction, they do not use the term as an adjective descriptive of poetry.

The Italian poet Testi employed *metaphysical* ("concetti metafisici ed ideali")³ in connection with poetry, and Drummond of Hawthornden also used the term ("metaphysical ideas and scholastical quiddities"),⁴ possibly even earlier than Testi. Both expressed disapproval of metaphysics in poetry; and in their distaste is seen the beginning of the pejorative sense. Later this was increased by Bishop Maxwell⁵ and Dr. Whichcote.⁶ It is not surprising that churchmen should have used the word unfavorably; the more sober ones among the liberal theologians as well as the spokesmen for the Established Church recognized a dangerous enemy in the unchecked metaphysical speculation of many sects.

² Tatham, *The Fancies Theater*, 1640, "Clarinda describ'd":
Her ex'lence Metaphysicall,
Partakes not of old Natures stamps. . . .

Austin, *Naps upon Parnassus*, 1658, "Upon Mr. John Cleevland—":
Call him th'Muses Metaphysick Reader,
Of all the Poets Troup stile him the Leader;
Who with rare Novelties baffles the Sense
Of the busie pated Weeks intelligence. . . .

(Here, as in Shipman's lines, there may be a pejorative tinge in *Metaphysick*; but I do not feel certain of it.)

Shipman, *Carolina: or, Loyal Poems*, 1683, "Wit and Nature," 180:
For *Metaphysick Notions* I lay by,
Their subtleties for me too high.

³ In his preface to a volume of poetry issued at Modena, 1627. Professor Grierson cites the passage in his edition of Donne's *Poems* (Oxford, 1912), II, 1.

⁴ In a letter, written before 1641, to Dr. Arthur Johnston, physician and Latinist.

⁵ *The Burthen of Issachar*, 1646, 31: "I confesse, this Divinitie is so transcendent and metaphysicall, that it exceeds my capacitie." (Quoted in *NED*, *metaphysical* I-b: "Applied with more or less of reproach to reasoning, ideas, etc. which are considered oversubtle, or too abstract").

⁶ *Select Sermons* (Edin., 1742), 67: "Now since this Scripture, and other Scriptures, use no other Arguments to prove there is a God—therefore I shall forbear all other Reasons: For tho' I might produce many *metaphysical* Things; yet, because they are abstract from Sense, they shall not be nam'd."

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It is interesting that at about the same time John Cleveland⁷ used the term with an equally slight, but perceptible, suggestion of disparagement. It had yet, however, to receive a strong pejorative infusion. This happened in a few years: if to Bishop Maxwell, Whichcote, and Cleveland *metaphysical* meant abstract from sense, therefore difficult and dangerous, to "G. I." Samuel Butler, and Abercrombie⁸ it meant nonsensical. This use, conveying considerable ridicule, was well established before 1693, when Dryden published his *Discourse Concerning Satire*.

Both Dryden and Dr. Johnson were, I believe, aware of this pejorative sense and took advantage of it, thereby suggesting to their readers not only that Donne, Cowley, and the rest were thoughtful, speculative, and abstract, but that they dealt in notions which, to a neo-classical mind, were incomprehensible, vague, and repugnant to common sense. *Metaphysical* was more active in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it is now; it was very much alive and correspondingly suggestive.

ROBERT LATHROP SHARP

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

⁷ "The Hecatomb to his Mistress" (*Saintsbury, Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, Oxford, 1905-1921, III, 21 ff.), 81-3:

Call her the Metaphysics of her sex,
And say she tortures wits as quartans vex
Physicians. . . .

⁸ In *Naps upon Parnassus* "G. I." says of Austin (whom the volume made fun of):

Such *Metaphysics* Thou writ'st as *transcends*
Our low, if not thine own *Intelligence*.

Butler, *Hudibras*, Pt. I (1663), Canto I, 149-50:

He knew what's what, and that's as high
As *Metaphysick* wit can fly.

Abercrombie, *A Discourse of Wit*, 1685, 103: "I conceive none to be such [a great wit], who has received but one Talent, though in just measure—I do far less judge those to be great Wits, who understand nothing, but what is beyond common Sense and Understanding, as these Metaphysical Whymesies, abstracted *Idea*'s, and Airy Notions, that fill the empty heads of some speculative Virtuoso's."

MILTON, IBN EZRA, AND WOLLEBIUS

In *Milton's Rabbinical Readings*,¹ Professor H. F. Fletcher finds echoed in the *De Doctrina Christiana*² the principles of Biblical exegesis present in Ibn Ezra's introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch. In these matters, however, Milton's immediate source seems rather to have been the *Compendium Theologiae Christianae* of Joannes Wollebius,³ which Milton knew thoroughly and used freely in the *De Doctrina*.⁴ The passages from Milton's treatise, quoted by Fletcher, and the corresponding remarks of Wollebius are as follows.

De Doctrina, pp. 346-47

Sensus cuiusque scripturæ unicus est; in veteri tamen testamento sœpe est compositus ex historia et typo: exempli gratia in his Hoseæ verbis, cap. xi. 1. cum Matt. ii. 15. *ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum*: ubi et de populo Israelitico et de Christo puer sensus duplex constare potest.

Wollebius, p. 9

Sensus cuiusque Scripturæ non nisi unicus est: in Veteris tamen Testamenti Vaticiniis sœpe est compositus ex historia & typo. Exempli gratia, Hoseæ cap. 11. v. 1 in his verbis, *Quia puer Israelis est, & diligo eum; ideo ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum*, sensus est compositus; literaliter enim ac historice de liberatione populi Israelitici ex Aegypto; typice vero seu mystice de vocatione Christi ex Aegypto sunt intelligenda. Matthæi 2. 15.

Media verum Scripturæ sensum investigandi sunt, frequens oratio; linguarum cognitio; fontium inspectio; argumenti & scopi consideratio; verborum propriorum & figuratorum distinctio; causarum, circumstantiarum, antecedentium & consequentium notatio ac Logica analysis, obseuriorum cum illustrioribus, similium cum similibus, dis-

Ratio recte interpretandi scripturas utilius quidem a theologis traditur, quam diligentius aut fidelius observatur; linguarum peritia; fontium inspectio; scopi animadversio; locutionis propriae et figuratae distinctio; causarum, circumstantiarum, antecedentium, consequentium consideratio; locorum cum aliis locis comparatio; fidei quoque ana-

¹ Urbana, Ill., 1930, pp. 61-62.

² Cantabrigiae, 1825.

³ Oxoniae, 1657.

⁴ William Godwin, *Lives of Edward and John Phillips*, London, 1815, p. 364; Charles R. Sumner, *The Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn Edition), London, 1873, v, 66-67; A. D. Barber, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xvi (1859), 596-97.

De Doctrina, pp. 346-47

Wollebius, p. 9

logia ubique spectanda est; syn- similium cum dissimilibus com-
 taxeos denique haud raro anomalia paratio; fidei denique analogia.
 non ommittenda. . . .

MAURICE KELLEY

Princeton University

SOME EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SONNETS

Because of the paucity between 1740 and 1760 of Spenserian sonnets¹ and of sonnets dealing with love,² the following anonymous piece may be worth recording. It occurs in *The Magazine of Magazines, Compiled from Original Pieces, with Extracts from the most celebrated Books and Periodical Compositions Published in Europe* for March 1751 (II, 193). Sir Lionel Landmark, one of several gentlemen who meet to discuss politics and literature and thereby provide the staple of the magazine, describes a love-affair of his youth in the course of which he penned the following sonnet "To the all-beautiful Charlotte Somerville":

Whenas I view'd with ravish'd wonderment,
 Earth's every beauty and each landskip gay;
 To heav'n my adoration I up-sent,
 And deem'd nought here cou'd beauteous be as they:
 But when my eyes up to the heav'ns did stray,
 And view'd all glorious walking thro' the sky
 The gorgeous sun, my wonder flew that way,
 Compar'd with that great sight all glories die:
 For what (methought) with it cou'd dare to vie?
 Ah me, I had not then, fair maid, beheld
 Thy blooming cheeks and either sparkling eye,
 Those worthier wonder than earth's gayest field:
 These lovelier than each light that rolls on high,
 Who views new lives, and yet who views must die.

There is no sign of indebtedness to Thomas Edwards' four Spenserian sonnets which appeared in the second volume (1748) of "Dodsley's Miscellany." Although the repetition of the *c* rime in the concluding couplet is irregular, and although no individual

¹ See R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1922, pp. 492-96 and 523-24; and A. D. McKillop, "Some Details of the Sonnet Revival," *MLN.*, XXXIX (1924), 438-40.

² See Havens, p. 520, n. 2.

sonnet in the *Amoretti* is patently its source, the poem is of distinctly Spenserian cast.

Interest in the *Amoretti* is manifested likewise in George Pooke's *An Epithalamium, on the Most Sacred Marriage, of King George the Third, to Princess Charlotte* (London, 1763). The "Introductory Preface," written in 1762, expresses great admiration for Spenser, and not simply for the *Faerie Queene*:

about seven or eight years ago I begun (in imitation of the same Author) an Epithalamium on my own Marriage. . . . About the same time, and since, of beginning my Epithalamium, I likewise wrote several Sonnets agreeable to it, in the direct stile and manner of Spencer's *Amoretti*, and which as soon as possible, I will intirely finish.³

In the 1783 edition of Pearch's *Collection* (III, 298-300) were printed two Spenserian sonnets by Bishop Percy: "Occasioned by Leaving B—X—N, July 1755" and "To a Lady of Indiscreet Virtue." They had appeared, the former attributed to "J—C—" and latter to "T—P—," in the 1770 edition (III, 281, 289-90). Their previous publication in Lloyd's *St. James's Magazine* for 1764 and, still earlier, in the *Universal Visiter and Memorialist* for 1756 has been pointed out by Miss Rinaker and Dr. Alan D. McKillop, respectively.⁴ Even more popular than this evidence suggests, they were twice printed (over the initial "P.") in *The Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence*, in 1758 (I, 145) and in 1760 (III, 611), and the second appeared under the title "A Sonnet After the Manner of Spencer: To a young Lady" (attributed to "J—Spr—g C—")⁵ in *The Town and Country Magazine* for 1782 (xiv, 160). There are minor differences in the texts of these versions: for example the place-name in the title of the first sonnet is given in *The Grand Magazine* version as "B—R—T—N."⁶

By 1789 the eighteenth-century sonnet was so firmly established that it provoked two curious burlesques. One is a "Pugilistical Sonnet On viewing the Stage erected for Johnson and Perrins, at

³ Pp. viii-ix.

⁴ "Percy as a Sonneteer," *MLN.*, xxxv (1920), 56-58; "Some Details of the Sonnet Revival," *MLN.*, xxxix (1924), 439.

⁵ Cf. the attribution of the other poem to "J—C—" in Pearch, 1770 ed.

⁶ Cf. "Bath" in the *Universal Visiter*, "B—R—N" in Pearch, 1770 ed., and "B—X—N" in Pearch, 1783 ed.

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Banbury. Supposed to be written by an Amateur."⁷ The other, by Henry Lemoine, is entitled "Slang Sonnet, Education"⁸:

A Link-boy once, *Dick Hellfinch*, stood the grin,
At Charing-cross he long his bawling plied;
"Here light, here light, your honour for a win,"
To ev'ry cull and drab he loudly cried.
In Leicester Fields, as most his story know,
"Come black your worship for a single *mag;"
And while he shin'd, his *Nelly* sack'd the †bag,
And thus they sometimes stagg'd a precious ‡go.
In Smithfield too, where graziers oft resort,
Dick loiter'd there to take in men of cash,
With cards and dice was up to ev'ry sport,
And at Salt Petre Bank would cut a dash;
At ev'ry knowing rig in ev'ry gang,
Dick Hellfinch was the pink of all the slang.

*Halfpenny. †Pocket. ‡Good booty.

ROBERT A. AUBIN

Harvard University

JAMES ROBERTSON, POET AND PLAYWRIGHT

James Robertson, who is not mentioned in the *DNB.*, was a bad poet, a bad dramatist, and a doubtless mediocre actor-manager, connected with the Theatre Royal at York, and with other theatres in the North. He contributed frequently to the literary journals in the 1770's, and his collected poems, now almost never seen, went into at least four editions. The first of these was *Poems, consisting of Tales, Fables, Epigrams, By Nobody*, 1770. The next was called *Poems on Several Occasions. By J. Robertson*, 1773. The "second" edition of the latter, with alterations and additions, was entitled *Poems, consisting of Tales, Fables, Elegiac and Miscellaneous Pieces, Prologues, Epilogues*, 1780. The "third" edition, with the same title as the preceding, but with new alterations and additions, was published in 1787. *A Collection of Comic Songs, written, Compil'd, Etch'd and Engrav'd, by J. Robertson; And Sung by him At The Theatres Nottingham, Derby, Stamford, Hall-*

⁷ *The General Magazine and Impartial Review*, III, 458.

⁸ *The Town and Country Magazine*, XXI, 571. Incidentally, on page 330 there is "A Gothic Sonnet."

fax, *Chesterfield, and Redford*, appeared without date (probably in the '70's). The book contains colored¹ engravings, with music, for each song. Another collection of *Comic Songs*, also undated, with the same title, but a slightly different list of booksellers, has entirely different contents. One of the last two volumes has a preface signed "J. Robertson, Manager (with Mr. Adecock) of the Theatres Nottingham, Derby, Stamford, Halifax, Chesterfield & Redford." Robertson's anonymous play, *The Heroine of Love, A Musical Piece of Three Acts*, was published at York in 1788.

Out of *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book for 1769*, published by T. Slack, the Newcastle printer, is extracted for the *Newcastle Chronicle* of Nov. 19, 1768, "The Bear and The Gardener. A Fable," signed with Robertson's initials. The fable appears again in the *Poems by Nobody*. Robertson probably contributed to the same newspaper "To Delia, at S——h" (Sept. 29, 1770); "Marriage: A Song" (Nov. 9, 1771); "A Fable" (Sept. 18, 1773); "The Wit and The Sage. A Fable" (Jan. 7, 1775); and "A Song" (Dec. 30, 1775). His poetical essays in *The Gentleman's Magazine* are as follows: "A Tale, From the Erse of Dermot O'Monaghan, a Religious of the Order founded by St. Ignatius" (March 1776, pp. 134-5); "The Toasts. A Fable" (May 1776, pp. 229-30); "Temperance" (Oct. 1776, pp. 474-5); "Miss Crambo, A Fable" (Dec. 1776, p. 571); "On hearing the Rev. Mr. A——n declare from the Pulpit, 'That were it not for Fear of Hell Men would be as wicked as the Devils Themselves'" (Dec. 1776, p. 572); "The Influenza, a Tale" (April 1777, pp. 187-8); "The New-Born, a Tale" (May 1777, pp. 238-9); "The Quack, a Tale" (June 1779, p. 319). All these pieces are signed with one or both of Robertson's initials, and most are in the third edition of his *Poems*.

The first of these contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the "Tale from the Erse," etc., had appeared in *Poems*, 1773, as "The Ghosts," and was published separately in 1786, as "Saint Peter's Lodge: A Serio-comi-legendary Tale," with a dedication to George, Prince of Wales. The textual changes were merely verbal; but it is curious that the title-page attributes it to "the Author of the Register-Office,"—that is, Joseph Reed, the rope-

¹ It is proper to add that the British Museum copy is the only one I have seen.

making playwright who wrote that ill-starred tragedy, *Dido*, of which Dr. Johnson said, "Sir, I never did the man an injury; yet he would read his tragedy to me." How to adjudicate the claims of these two authors, both "J. R." to the same poem, I do not know. It was certainly not a poem worth stealing. And in general, it may be said of all Robertson's work that, though it occasionally displays vivacity, its merit as poetry is invisible.

BERTRAND H. BRONSON

Berkeley, California

A NEW LETTER FROM CHARLES LAMB

In 1908 the Melbourne Public Library purchased a number of papers from Miss Lydia Johns, evidently the daughter or granddaughter of the Reverend J. Johns of Liverpool, in whose house Hazlitt's sister Margaret passed the last years of her life. Among these papers is the following previously unpublished letter from Lamb to Mrs. Hazlitt which is published here by permission of Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons:

[no address or date]

Dear Mrs Hazlitt,

I am so very nervous and miserable that I cannot ask you here. I have suffered so much from all day & all night long company, with which I have been harassed, and which is new to us since being here, and am so incapable of the sort of life, that I wish I had done anything than come here. It is from no unkindness to you, but I apply it to every London friend I have, and heartily pray that they would leave me alone. It is a disease, but I cannot help it, the same in a less degré (*sic*) that drove me for weeks into a state of utter sleeplessness a year or two since & I must break thro all ceremonies & all friendships too rather than incur the danger I was then in. I am sorry to seem unkind to William, whom I like better than any youth of his age, but I cannot invite him to come when he pleases, in my present state. It vexes me to be so unfriendly, but I am very poorly & tis necessity

Yours, very miserable

C L

[addressed]

Mrs Hazlitt

10 Buckingham Street
Strand

[postmarked] JU. 29 1829

The "state of utter sleeplessness a year or two since" is obviously

that referred to by Lamb in his letter to Allsop on January 9, 1828, but, for the rest, the new letter is rather difficult to fit into the other correspondence of Lamb at this time. He speaks as if his sister were with him, but he was alone from the end of May until the end of September 1829, and on July 25 he wrote to Bernard Barton: "I have had the loneliest time near 10 weeks, broken by a short apparition of Emma for her holydays, whose departure only deepened the returning solitude, and by 10 days I have past in Town." The letter seems to bear some relationship to the one to the younger William Hazlitt, dated by W. C. Hazlitt June or July 1833,¹ but correctly assigned by Mr. E. V. Lucas to this period. In this letter Lamb says,

I am very uncomfortable, and when Emma leaves me, I shall wish to be quite alone, therefore pray tell your Mother I regret that I cannot see her here this time, but hope to see her when times are better with me. The young ladies are very pleasant, but my spirits have much ado to keep pace with theirs.

Emma Isola adds a letter, in which she says: "I am sorry your mother will not be able to visit Enfield [Edmonton];² but indeed Mr. L's spirits are very bad, or I am sure he would have been happy." The fact that this letter was addressed to "Mr. Wm. Hazlitt, Junr." at "36 Southampton Buildings, Holborn, or at the Southampton Arms" proves that it was written while his father was still alive, for Southampton Buildings had been Hazlitt's address at various times ever since 1807 (no. 34 for many years, and no. 9 at the time of the *Liber Amoris* episode), and Patmore describes "three or four evenings that I remember to have spent with Hazlitt and Hone in the dingy wainscoated coffee-room of the Southampton Arms in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane"³ about this time. Indeed, it is obvious that the letter to young Hazlitt was written before June 10, 1829, by which date the departure of Emma and her friend had left Lamb alone once more.⁴

It is clear, however, that the new letter cannot refer to the

¹ *Letters of Charles Lamb* (Bohn's Standard Library), II, 408-9.

² Edmonton is evidently W. C. Hazlitt's attempt to correct what would have been a slip had his dating of the letter been correct. Actually, of course, it helps to prove him wrong.

³ Cited by P. P. Howe, *Life of William Hazlitt*, p. 418.

⁴ E. V. Lucas, *Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, VII, 827.

requests from Mrs. Hazlitt and the young William for permission to visit which were refused in the earlier letter. Apparently they were renewed some weeks later, only to be refused again; and, however difficult it is to reconcile Lamb's statement about being harassed by "all day and all night long company" with the picture of his loneliness which he draws for Bernard Barton, it is quite clear that he did *not* wish to see Mrs. Hazlitt.

R. C. BALD

University of Adelaide, Adelaide, South Australia

BALZAC IN ENGLAND

In enumerating the translations and plagiarisms of Balzac's works which appeared in England between 1833 and 1836, Marcel Moraud mentions, in *Le Romantisme français en Angleterre de 1815 à 1848* (Paris: Champion, 1933), a partial translation of *Maitre Cornélius* which appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*;¹ an anonymous partial translation of *Le Père Goriot*, in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*;² and another anonymous translation or adaptation of *Gobseck*, in *Chamber's Edinburgh Review*.³ To these items might have been added at least three other anonymous translations of Balzac, which are noted here as a minor contribution to the study of Balzac's literary fortunes in England.

"Le Dragon Rouge," which appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*⁴ over the signature J. C., is in reality an adaptation and partial translation of *Jésus-Christ en Flandre*, which was first published in Balzac's *Romans et contes philosophiques* (Paris: Gosselin, 1831). The title was taken from the name of the "galley" which, in the English version, was said to ply between

¹ "Maitre Cornelius (sic); From the French of M. de Balzac," III (February and March, 1834), 129-48; 265-84. Moraud (*op. cit.*, p. 382) gives the date as 1833.

² "Le Père Goriot; A True Parisian Tale of the Year 1830," XXXVII (February, 1833), 348-53.

³ "The Parisian Money-lender; A Tale," V (February 27, 1836), 35-36.

⁴ II (October, 1833), 386-90. It seems likely that the title used by the magazine was suggested by *L'Auberge rouge*, which appeared in the same volume of *Nouveaux contes philosophiques* (Paris: Gosselin, 1832) with *Maitre Cornélius*.

Dover and the Continent "in the days of old, when Edward Longshanks ruled this realm," instead of between Ostend and Cadzant "à une époque assez indéterminée de l'histoire brabançonne," as Balzac relates. That the English translator wished to conceal the extent of his indebtedness to the original is apparent not only in his rearrangement of the opening paragraphs of the tale, which he rewrites completely, but also in his changes of names. Balzac's unnamed *patron* becomes the Schipper (sic) Gilles Vandergueht, "a surly Fleming"; Thomas, the old mariner, becomes Master Gaspard; while la dame de Rupelmonde becomes the Countess d'Estottville, a name undoubtedly borrowed from Georges d'Estouteville who appears in *Maître Cornélius*. The care with which the translator eliminates the romantic and, in this case, supernatural elements of the tale, and, on the other hand, preserves the vigorous character delineation and realistic detail of the original, gives a striking demonstration, in a single instance, of the contemporary British attitude toward the two tendencies of Balzac's work in general. In *Jésus-Christ en Flandre* the bark sinks in the storm, but at the divine Stranger's exhortation: "Ceux qui ont la foi seront sauvés en me suivant!" the young mother and her child, the soldier, the old woman, the two peasants, and even doubting Thomas, the old mariner, follow their Saviour over the waves to safety. In the translation

The stranger was aware that the land could not be far off. 'Well,' said he, as he sprung from the vessel's side, 'I shall at least escape the clumsy grasp of that thick-skulled Fleming, if he should happen to sink.'

The four sailors were the only persons on board who had resolution enough to follow his example.

The ship itself is saved for, as the master of *Le Dragon Rouge* explains to the stranger, encountered on the beach the next morning, "when you and those other heavy lubbers leaped over board, the tide floated her in like a cork."

Balzac's *L'Auberge rouge* proved useful to the *Dublin University Magazine* in two ways: in suggesting a title for the adapted *Jésus-Christ en Flandre*, and in furnishing the major portion of "The Red Inn at Andernach; A Tale Within a Tale,"⁵ which appeared without name of author or translator. Here again the intention to disguise the piracy is rendered the more obvious by

⁵ III (June, 1834), 632-46; IV (July, 1834), 79-91.

the means adopted to conceal it. The title is expanded; the chapter divisions are changed and the titles omitted; quotations from Juvenal, Shakespeare, and Wilson are used as epigraphs for the two installments; and lastly, an entirely new introductory section, dealing with London in June, 1830, is substituted for Balzac's "Introduction." Once the actual narrative gets under way, the English version follows the original text somewhat more closely than in the case of *Jésus-Christ en Flandre*, although it leaves much to be desired as a translation.

The first English translation of *Le Colonel Chabert* appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine* of May and June, 1833, under the title "The Count Chabert,"⁶ without name of author or translator. The mendacious "Prefatory Notice" added to conceal the source and authorship of the tale, and perhaps also to flatter the gallophobia of the *Metropolitan's* readers, is in fact a high tribute to Balzac's realism:

The story of Count Chabert (which has recently been dramatized⁷ in France) is one of those frightful truths which, to paraphrase an expression of our Gallie brethren, "merits to be fictive"; and not, as it unhappily is, a narrative of events that happened in our times. The writer of this brief notice has often been in company with M. and Madame de Ferraud, the latter of whom always made a disagreeable impression upon him—a clever and rather pert woman, whose dashing manner did not always veil her native vulgarity. . . .

Both M. and Madame de Ferraud are now dead; and if Colonel Chabert still exist, it is in the state described at the conclusion of this recital.

"The Count Chabert" follows the original text⁸ much more closely than do the partial translations and adaptations mentioned above. As a translation, however, it is stiff, inaccurate and often

⁶ VII, 102-12, 208-22. The *Metropolitan Magazine* (London, 1831-57), a popular miscellany devoted to light fiction, was edited from 1832-35 by Captain Frederick Marryat, assisted by Edward Howard. See Walter Graham's *English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1930), pp. 289-90.

⁷ Jacques Arago and Louis Lurine, *Chabert; histoire contemporaine en deux actes, mélée de chant* (Paris: J. N. Barba, 1832), presented at the Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, July 2, 1832.

⁸ The title, as well as the addition of a fifth but unnumbered chapter heading, "Conclusion" (not noted by Spoelberch de Lovenjoul), which appears only in this, the second French version, indicates that the text translated was that which was published in the first volume of *Le Salmigondis* (Paris: Fournier, 1832).

quite incorrect. As Moraud says of the anonymous translator of *Gobseck*, the translator of *Chabert*

évite constamment les outrances de ce réalisme qui l'attire, les fantaisies de cette imagination trop exubérante de Balzac, les trouvailles tantôt bizarres, parfois triviales, ou même saugrenues, qu'un public anglais eût mal supportées.

The "complete list" of translations of Balzac's works appearing in America between 1828 and 1885 given by Benjamin Griffith in his *Balzac aux Etats-Unis* (Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1931) dates the first American translation of *Le Colonel Chabert* "circa 1843."⁹ As a matter of fact, the first appearance of *Chabert* in America was in the May and June numbers, 1833, of the *Metropolitan Magazine*,¹⁰ which was republished from the London periodical in New Haven, Conn., by Peck and Newton. It may be objected that the appearance of this earlier American version is perhaps more a matter of bibliographical interest than of literary significance, as the translation was published without Balzac's name, and as it was chosen neither by an American editor or translator, nor for an American public, the *Metropolitan* being merely a republication of the English miscellany of the same name. Nevertheless, in view of the unscrupulous custom of preying upon foreign publications during the period in question it would be surprising if a careful examination of other American periodicals did not uncover many more plagiarisms and imitations of Balzac, taken from both French and English sources, than are included in Griffith's bibliography.

THOMAS R. PALFREY

Northwestern University

BALZAC'S FIRST THOUGHT OF CÉSAR BIROTEAU

M. Maurice Serval, in his very informative article, *Autour de Balzac. César Birotteau*,¹ dealing with the history, sources and

⁹ *The Lady With Two Husbands* (New York: J. Winchester, n.d. [c. 1843]). In "French Novels," v. Translated from *La Comtesse à deux maris*, which appeared in *Scènes de la vie parisienne*, IV (Paris, 1835).

¹⁰ "The Count Chabert," pp. 194-98, 233-40. The *Metropolitan Magazine* was republished in New Haven from 1831-35, and in New York, with the sub-title "American Edition," from 1836-42.

¹ *RHL.*, XXXVII (1930), 196-226, 368-392.

social background of Balzac's study in bankruptcy, finds it impossible to discover any traces of a plan for *César Birotteau* in its author's mind before 1833, though he admits the possibility of an interest in the subject by Balzac at an earlier date.² There is, however, one indication which the French author has apparently failed to notice, pointing rather plainly to a preoccupation on Balzac's part with at least one detail of *César Birotteau* as early as 1830. This is found in a letter from Dr. Jean-Baptiste Nacquart to the author of the *Comédie humaine*, dated at Paris November 23 of that year.³ In it, the learned French physician, an intimate friend of Balzac, gives requested information concerning proper methods of treatment for the skin. The letter begins as follows:

Vous me demandez des renseignemens sur les agens auxquels on accorde la propriété de conserver la peau lorsqu'elle n'a point encore subi d'atteintes, ou de corriger ces mêmes impressions quand l'âge, des circonstances accidentales ou morbides l'ont altérée. Question grave et en présence de laquelle la science hippocratique et l'art du parfumeur émettent des doctrines assez opposées. Les concilierons nous, vous et moi, par notre intervention?

Then follows a detailed account of various ways of lubricating the human epidermis; and in the body of this communication reference is made to Balzac's interest in the question from the literary point of view:

Abordons le travail du rhabilleur, si toutefois votre courage, moitié médical, moitié littéraire, veut aller au delà.

And the obliging physician draws his letter toward a close thus:

Pardon, mon cher et spirituel ami, de ce long, lent et tardif bavardage, mais j'ai voulu vous donner des matériaux.

Now, the only section in any of Balzac's works dealing with the treatment of the skin is in *César Birotteau*, the prospectus of César's *Pâte des Sultanes et Eau Carminative*,⁴ in which an attrac-

² *Op. cit.*, p. 377. In this connection, I desire to express thanks for expert advice on the dating of letters in the *Correspondance générale* of Balzac to Dr. A. G. Canfield of the University of Michigan, who aided me in this study.

³ Letter 2 in *Correspondance inédite de Balzac avec le Docteur Nacquart*, Cahiers balzaciens, Paris, Aux Editions Lapina, 1928.

⁴ Professor Chinard has pointed out to me that, as *eau carminative* is a kind of *eau purgative*, a *parfumeur* was legally forbidden to sell it, even

tive description is given of the wonders wrought by the *parfumeur's* lotion on every type and condition of the epidermis. It is plain, then, that sometime before November 23, 1830, Balzac had written to Dr. Nacquart for scientific information concerning skin-culture and that the physician's letter represents a reply to those queries. It will be remembered that in the novel *César* similarly obtained aid from a kindly chemist, of whom he asked "les moyens de composer un double cosmétique qui produisit des effets appropriés aux diverses natures de l'épiderme."⁵

Again, since the success of the *Pâte des Sultanes et Eau Carminative* was destined to be a stepping stone in *César's* rise to a position of prominence in the commercial world, Balzac must already have had in mind the *grandeur*, if not the *décadence*, of his hero, that is, an important element in the plot of *César Birotteau*, at the date of his letter to Dr. Nacquart.

It cannot be said, however, that the good doctor's information was utilized to any considerable extent in the actual composition of *César's* prospectus. Balzac had doubtless consulted his physician friend for the purpose of giving himself a basis of scientific fact on which to build and as a protection against the commission of too gross errors on his own part, but with no illusions as to the applicability of much that Dr. Nacquart would say to the commercial charlatanism of a *César Birotteau*; so none of the physician's prescriptions for treatment appeared in the novel, and only one statement concerning skin disorders, and that in a single line, found analogies in the ingratiating prose of the prospectus. Dr. Nacquart said:

Enfin votre poupée est sujette à des boutons, à des rougeurs! Mêlez un peu d'extrait de Saturne . . . etc.

And *César* enlarged upon the subject thus:

Cette précieuse Pâte, qui exhale les plus doux parfums, fait donc disparaître les taches de rousseur les plus rebelles. . . . L'Eau Carminative enlève ces légers boutons qui, dans certains moments, surviennent inopinément aux femmes, et contrarient leurs projets pour le bal.⁶

though the material mentioned in his prospectus was intended for purely external application. There seems to be no evidence that Balzac was conscious of this little error in his use of names.

⁵ *César Birotteau*, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1878, p. 31.

⁶ *César Birotteau*, p. 33.

However, even there, Balzac may have drawn his ideas and dictation from other sources, particularly the advertisements of lotions similar to that of César Birotteau, current in Paris at the time the novel was composed, and interestingly described by M. Serval.⁷ The letter of Dr. Nacquart does throw light, however, on the manner in which the author of *César Birotteau* used the knowledge of friends in the service of his art.

G. M. FESS

University of Missouri

A LETTER FROM LAMARTINE TO "GR. K."

We know that in his last years Lamartine struggled against ill-health and financial worries. By 1859 he was in debt to the extent of four million francs and unable to liquidate his assets which were largely in the form of real estate. In vain did he seek to sell this property in order to pay his creditors. It was too late to regret his lavish expenditures, his extravagant generosity, his huge land investments. The only possible way to save himself from complete bankruptcy seemed to lie in selling his beloved châteaux, Milly, Saint-Point, and Monceaux. During this period of anguish and physical suffering he wrote numerous letters¹ to friends in the vain hope that they might proffer financial help. He indicated that France owed him a great deal for his political services and that she had failed to show her gratitude. Among these sad letters is one which has long been treasured by my family and which, I believe, has never before been published. It is in answer to a letter of sympathy written to the poet by a native of Geneva, George Kaufmann, who married Julie Juvet, my great-aunt. I publish Kaufmann's letter in order that Lamartine's may be more intelligible. In reproducing the latter, I have respected the poet's spelling and his indifference to accents and apostrophes.² Lamartine's letter is dated by himself and endorsed with the same date in another hand.

⁷ *Autour de Balzac. César Birotteau*, pp. 369, 370.

¹ Cf. those published in the *Revue de Paris*, 1 mai 1934, pp. 73-4.

² Acknowledgment should be made to Professor Albert E. Trombly of the University of Missouri for his generous help in deciphering Lamartine's hand. The originals of the letters here reproduced are now in the University of Missouri library at Columbia, Missouri.

Genève 11^e 9bre 1859

Monsieur, (mon cœur dit: cher Monsieur!)

Permettez à un admirateur obscur, mais sincère, du beau don que Dieu vous a fait, de venir apporter, s'il est possible, une parole de sympathie à vos souffrances morales et physiques, et puisez-t-elle, vous faire du bien, au degré de l'ardent désir qu'en éprouve mon cœur!

J'ai lu avec une douloureuse tristesse dans un *Journal de notre ville*, votre courte réponse à *Mr. Jules Forest de Lyon*, et ces mots: 'Je suis très-malade et je touche au naufrage complet! . . .', ont eu, venant de votre plume, un retentissement déchirant dans mon âme.

O mon Dieu! m'écriai-je, non; tu ne permettras pas '*un naufrage complet!*'

S'il n'atteint que le fragile esquif, l'enveloppe terrestre de cette créature que tu as si magnifiquement douée pour te célébrer, hélas! dur le lot que nous a légué à tous, la première désobéissance; mais '*un naufrage complet!*' oh! non, Seigneur mon Dieu! ne le permets pas!

Rapelle à celui qui souffre aussi cruellement que *tu l'as aimé le premier*; que pour lui tu n'as pas épargné ton propre Fils, ton unique, mais l'as livré à la mort ignominieuse de la croix! Rappelle-lui que tu lui demandes de croire ainsi à ton amour parfait, révélé en Jésus-christ, sans autre condition antérieure, et ce '*naufrage*', comme la douloureuse tristesse appelle un délogement, ce naufrage n'en sera jamais un, mais au contraire, une arrivée joyeuse au port éternel du salut et de la félicité!

Je demande au Seigneur que cette main qui a pu écrire: 'L'homme est un dieu tombé, qui se souvient des cieux,' que cette main s'élève avec foi, avec amour et adoration, vers Celui qui n'exige que la foi à Sa miséricorde et à Son amour manifestés en Jésus, pour recevoir l'homme tombé là où il n'y a ni larmes, ni deuil, ni souffrances!

C'est donc à l'Amour qui prévient avec tendresse le pécheur, que mon cœur vous remet, en terminant ces lignes, que je n'ai pu résister à vous écrire, soit qu'elles vous parviennent ou qu'il n'en soit rien!

Je demeure, Monsieur, si j'ose dire, avec affection profondément sympathique

Votre respectueux

Gr. K.

Monsieur

A: de Lamartine
(Saône & Loire) à Mâcon

Monsieur

Excusez un malade de n'avoir pas souvent la plume à la main. Mon cœur maurait porté à vous répondre plus tot mes souffrances et mes affaires mont retardé.

Sachez seulement que j'ai vivement ressenti ce bon procédé de votre cœur et que votre nom sera inscrit parmi mes consolations.

La France a laquelle j'ai tout sacrifié laisse perir mes braves créanciers avec moi; pour moi je me résigne, pour eux je proteste. 2' ou 300 000 les

aurait sauvés; jamais je ne pardonnerai à mon pays de s'être vengé de moi en les comprennant dans ma reprobation.

Recevez Monsieur l'assurance des sentiments que votre lettre m'inspirent.

Envoyez moi non des Anges mais des acquéreurs de mes biens, ils seront les anges de mes créanciers.

Lamartine

au château de Monceau près Mâcon

18 nov 1859

SIBLEY MERTON

Columbia, Missouri

HUMANISME, HUMANITISME, AND HUMANITARISME

By 1765, interest in philanthropic enterprises in France had reached such proportions that one of the economists affiliated with this movement, the Abbé Baudeau, saw the need of a new word to denote the sentiment known in English as humanitarianism. In December of that year, Baudeau founded a weekly journal, the *Ephémérides du citoyen ou Chronique de l'esprit national*, which later became, under the editorship of Du Pont de Nemours, the chief organ of the physiocrats. It was in the first volume (issue of Dec. 27, 1765) that Baudeau defined

cette vertu qui n'a point de nom parmi nous (l'amour générale de l'humanité) que nous oserions appeler *humanisme*,¹ puis qu'enfin il est temps de créer un mot pour une chose si belle, si nécessaire, et qui devroit être si commune.²

The word was used again in the second number of Volume II (Jan. 6, 1766, p. 29): "C'est ainsi que dans les grandes âmes, l'*humanisme* règle toujours les desseins même de la politique et du patriotisme."

Curiously enough, Baudeau suddenly changed the word, speaking in Volume V (Aug. 15, 1766, p. 206) of "cette vertu que nous avons osé nommer l'*Humanitisme* ou l'estime et l'amour général de l'humanité." In Volume VI (Sept. 15, 1766, p. 65) we read of "le plus précieux des sentiments, l'*humanitisme*, père de la liberté

¹ There is no record of the word *humanisme*, in the cultural sense, earlier than the 19th century.

² Pp. 246-247. Baudeau's neologism is mentioned in G. Schelle, *Du Pont de Nemours et l'école physiocratique*, Paris, 1888, p. 100.

légitime et du vrai bonheur," and again in Volume VII (Sept. 22, 1766, p. 98) :

Votre Philosophie vous apprend donc à sacrifier les sentiments patriotiques à ceux de cette vertu . . . que vous nommez *l'humanisme*, exprimant ainsi, par un mot nouveau, des sentiments qui ne sont pas plus communs que cette expression si récente.

While this change may have been due to faulty memory, it seems more likely that Baudeau attempted to improve his original word. Perhaps he realized that *humanisme* might be erroneously associated with the well-known word *humaniste*, whereas *humanisme* was more akin to *humanité*. Whatever the reason, his second word fared little better than his first, and probably never passed beyond the pages of the *Ephémérides*. The idea of humanitarianism continued to be expressed by a locution, usually with the word *humanité*.³

The word *humanitarisme*, of more recent date, seems to have originated with a pejorative meaning. Armand Weil⁴ traces the word back to 1838, when Balzac wrote in *Les Employés*:

Son cœur s'enflait de ce stupide amour collectif qu'il faut nommer *l'humanitarisme*, fils aîné de défunte philanthropie, et qui est à la divine charité catholique ce que le système est à l'art, le raisonnement substitué à l'œuvre.⁵

If Balzac coined this word, as the quotation suggests, he may have been influenced by the word *humanitaire*, which was used in 1833 by Michel Raymond: "L'*humanitaire* est le radical par excellence. Petites ou grandes, à ses yeux, toutes les réformes se tiennent."⁶ According to Bloch,⁷ Alfred de Musset used the word *humanitaire* in 1838.

³ For the use of this word in France in the 18th and 19th centuries, see Eduard von Jan, "'Humanité,'" *ZFSL.*, LV (1932), 23-58.

⁴ "En marge d'un nouveau dictionnaire [by Oscar Bloch]," *Revue de philologie française*, XLV (1933), 24.

⁵ *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Michel Lévy frères, Paris, 1870, XI, 154-155.

⁶ Lorédan Larchey, *Dictionnaire historique d'argot*, Paris, 1878, pp. 206-207, noted by Weil, *loc. cit.* The *NED*. gives no examples of *humanitarianism* and *humanitarian*, in the sense we are concerned with, prior to 1850 and 1844, respectively, although the former is found in 1833 and the latter in 1819, with different meanings.

⁷ Oscar Bloch, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Paris, 1932, I, 371.

Although Littré, in 1863, defines *humanitarisme* simply as a neologism meaning "système, doctrine humanitaire," the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* retains the pejorative sense of "amour de l'humanité excessif et prétentieux" in admitting it, for the first time, in the latest edition (Fascicule IV, 1931).

EDWARD D. SEEBER

Cleveland, Ohio

FERWAZZOT

Die in der Handschrift Cod. Carlsruhe LXXXIII befindliche Glossen *ferwazzot* wurde von Graff (1, 1089), Mone (*Anzeiger für Kund der deutschen Vorzeit*, Bd. 4, S. 88, 87) und Steinmeyer (*Ahd. Gl.* 1, 761, 64 falsch gelesen. Sie hielten offenbar *ferwazzot* für eine Übersetzung des unmittelbar darunter stehenden Wortes *maranatha*. Dies ist aber nicht richtig, denn *maranatha* ist ein hebräisches Wort mit der Bedeutung "der Herr kommt" und hat garnichts mit *ferwazzot* zu tun: dies ist vielmehr eine Verdeutschung der links daneben stehenden lateinischen Glossen *perditio & detestatio*, die über *sit anathema* geschrieben wurden. Der Schreiber hat ohne Zweifel den Satz im Text richtig verstanden, denn er fügt am Rande auch noch die lateinische Glossen hinzu: *condemnatus sit donec dominus redeat*, eine korrekte Übersetzung der ganzen Phrase: *sit anathema maranatha*. Dass er das Wort *maranatha* als hebräisch verstanden hat, hat er ausserdem durch die Randbemerkung *∴ heb.* zu erkennen gegeben.

E. A. POLLARD

University of Oregon

RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

Laurie Magnus' *History of European Literature* (Norton), which is being highly praised, may be an admirable outline of poetry, drama, and non-fictional prose; but it treats with disproportionate brevity the prose fiction of Boccaccio, Rabelais, Cervantes, Rousseau, and Goethe, says nothing about Apuleius and Petronius, and proceeds upon the old-fashioned assumption that the developments in that genre are negligible. Generally speaking,

research in the history of prose fiction is still the step-child of literary scholarship. Such progress as seems perceptible is, as heretofore,¹ haphazard and disorganized. Some of the new studies are avowedly contributions to the history of the genre; but much of the new information appears incidentally, not to say accidentally, in books and articles which are preoccupied with other matters and whose authors often seem unaware that they are bringing forth something of interest to the student of the "forgotten genre." The difficulty of giving even a slight degree of coherence to a survey of such heterogeneous writings will, I trust, be appreciated. I am here concerned with the significance of the new works from only a single point of view; and my praise or dispraise of any of them should not be interpreted as an affirmation or denial of their value in other respects.

MEDIEVAL. What is likely to prove one of the foundation-stones for the future history of prose fiction is being laboriously quarried by Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Chadwick of the University of Cambridge. Their *Growth of Literature*, to be completed in three volumes (Cambr. U. P.) pays especial attention to "literature that is independent of written transmission," and in its first volume presents valuable descriptions and comparisons of "prose story" or "saga." In some of the literature examined, notably in the Irish, prose was a more important form than verse. The Chadwicks make a sharp distinction, which may prove impracticable, between narratives written for entertainment and narratives written for didactic purposes; but one must await the completion of their labors before estimating its general significance.—The second volume of Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Ind. U.), deals mainly with magical themes.

The Chadwicks give due attention to the Icelandic sagas; and the most imaginative form of these, the *Lygisögur*, is the theme of Margaret Schlauch's *Romance in Iceland* (Amer. Scan. Found.). Based upon an examination of the MSS in Reykjavik and Copenhagen, and written in a clear and lively style, this is the first monograph in English upon the important developments in this type, especially between 1200-1500. The materials are surveyed topically, under such headings as "The Setting," "The Old Gods and Heroes," "The Classical Tradition," "The Road to the East," and "Recurrent Literary Themes." The addition of an introductory chapter giving a description of the chief works in chronological

¹ See my previous surveys: *MLN.*, XLII (1928), 121; XLIII (1930), 416; XLVI (1931), 95; XLVIII (1933), 370.

Ernest

order would render this book even more valuable. Ralph Allen's *Old Icelandic Sources in the English Novel* (U. of Penn.) deals mostly with nineteenth-century novels, but students of the earlier periods will find in it a useful account of the beginnings of English interest in the sagas and a chronological table of early translations and studies.

G. R. Owst's *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* is a good example of the typical medievalist's indifference towards prose fiction as such. It has a chapter on the exempla, and shows an unrivalled familiarity with those found in MSS in English cathedral and university libraries. It provides a valuable list of contemporaneous quotations proving the importance of exempla (pp. 152-4); and it sets forth their characteristics,—their love for the marvelous, and their anticipations of the renaissance fondness for realism, social satire, and frivolity. Here and there one may pick up useful details, such as the account of the development of the myth of the Daughters of the Devil (pp. 93-97), or of the legend of Thomas of Canterbury (pp. 126-34). In an excursus which no student of Bunyan should overlook, Dr. Owst suggests that some of the traditional materials in the *Pilgrim's Progress* may have reached Bunyan through seventeenth-century preachers who were carrying on the traditions of the medieval pulpit. Usually, however, Dr. Owst is not interested in such topics, and adheres to the common assumption that literature primarily means drama and poetry. He says next to nothing about the narrative technique of the exempla, or of the relative merits of their chief authors (no advance beyond Mosher and Welter in these respects). He devotes much space to the influence of the exempla upon miracle and morality plays and upon Langland's verse. But if one turns to his otherwise valuable volume for an answer to such questions as: "What incidents, characters, and points of view were derived from the exempla by the writers of the sixteenth-century popular tales, or by such authors as Deloney?" one is left unanswered. Among the chief composers of fiction in the Middle Ages were the makers of saints' legends and exempla; and until the bridge between them and the renaissance is thrown, we shall have no consecutive history of the genre.

Herbert Thurston, S. J., in "St. Mary Magdalen—Fact and Legend" (*Studies* [Dublin], xxiii, 110) analyzes "the preposterous legends of her apostolate in Provence." Irene P. McKeehan, in "The Book of the Nativity of St. Cuthbert" (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 981) shows the interrelations between romances and legends. With ingenuity and thoroughness, Grant Loomis sets forth (*Harvard*

Studies, xiv, 83; xv, 1), the amazing elaboration of the story of St. Edmund. He also traces in "King Arthur and the Saints" (*Spec.*, viii, 428) fragments of Arthurian legend in various saints' lives. Katherine Garvin (*MLN.*, xl ix, 88) shows that the story of the stubbornness of Noah's wife was current in the eleventh century. During the twelfth, as J. W. Spargo expounds in his handsome volume, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Harv. U. P.), the popular biographical romance about the Mantuan began its influential career. He follows its many versions down to the sixteenth-century *Virgilius*. H. M. Smyser discusses the influence of folk-lore upon the "Engulphed Lucerna" episode in the Pseudo-Turpin (*Harv. Stud.*, xv, 49); and D. D. Griffith maintains that the Griselda story originated in "the tabu group of Cupid and Psyche tales" (*Univ. of Wash. Publ. in Lang.*, viii, 1). J. A. MacCulloch, in *Medieval Faith and Fable* (Marshall Jones) does not deal with stories as such, but presents a rich ingathering of common themes and superstitions.

The Oxford University Press reprints, in appropriate and beautiful form, *Mandeville's Travels* from the edition of 1568, supplying the omitted pages from the Cotton MS. Arpad Steiner (*Spec.*, ix), presents a strong argument for assigning 1365-71 as the date of composition. The new evidence has a bearing upon the problem of the authorship. Jean d'Outremeuse, at present the favorite candidate, was born in 1338 and died in 1400.

The apparent contradiction between Malory the man and Malory the author is sharpened by the facts brought forth from the Record Office by A. C. Baugh in "Documenting Sir Thomas Malory" (*Spec.*, viii, 3). In a small limited edition of two volumes (the Widener Library has a copy) Basil Blackwell reprints from the unique copy in the Rylands Library the Wynkyn de Worde text of *Le Morte D'arthur* (1498) with the woodcuts. Nellie S. Aurner, explicitly disclaiming any intention of interpreting Malory's work as a *roman à clef*, plausibly points, in "Sir Thomas Malory—Historian?" (*PMLA.*, xl viii, 362), to characters and incidents which seem to reflect the author's own experiences. Eugène Vinaver is continuing the painstaking study of Malory's use of sources in "A Romance of Gaheret" and "The Legend of Wade" (*Medium Ævum*, i, 157; ii, 135), the former article ably supporting the likelihood that the Gareth story was derived from a lost Prose *Tristram*. One of M. Vinaver's disciples, Miss F. Whitehead, in "On Certain Episodes in the Fourth Book" (*Ibid.*, ii, 119), shows that Malory sometimes was unwilling to follow his sources when they accepted social customs and attitudes which were rightly

repellant to him. But the mystery how such a ruffian in conduct could be so knightly in sentiment still remains.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY. *Mary of Nimmegen* (c. 1518) has been reproduced in facsimile (Harv. U. P.) from the unique black-letter copy in the Huntington Library, with an introduction by H. M. Ayers and A. J. Barnouw. To make this tale accessible was to perform a real service to scholarship in prose fiction; for, with its curious combination of crudity and skill, it helps us to understand what was happening to the art of narration and characterization in the dusky period between Malory and the Elizabethans. But it must be confessed that for modern eyes black-letter is difficult, and that the intrinsic merits of the story would appear to better advantage in ordinary type. One of the desiderata in our field is a well-edited collection of the extant popular tales of this period, based upon the rare early editions, to replace the antiquated Thoms.

No one interested in the fiction of the period from Caxton to Pettie should fail to consult H. B. Lathrop's *Translations from the Classics: 1477-1620* (U. of Wisc.). Within its scope lie the Prose *Aesop*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Aeneid*, the classical tales in Painter and Pettie, and the Greek Romances. The author has made an independent and systematic comparison of all the English texts with the classical originals and the continental translations, and he has considered the significant changes which the translators made in the substance and the style. He presents the results of many years of research in a form which is characteristically modest, succinct, and reliable. When, for example, he has ascertained, after examining the Latin, French, and Italian versions, that an English translation was made directly from the Greek, he establishes that fact without any lengthy demonstration of the negative results. René Pruvost, independently of Lathrop, confirms (*Rev. Angl. Am.*, x, 481) the latter's assertion that Angel Day, for moral reasons, toned down the eroticism of *Daphnis and Chloe*.

It has been suspected that thorough research would disclose that Rabelais was better known in England than hitherto demonstrated. Huntington Brown's *Rabelais in English Literature* (Harv. U. P.) makes some additions to the previous knowledge about the subject; but these additions show Rabelais' influence upon lexicographers, dramatists, and essayists, rather than upon writers of prose fiction. Dr. Brown is non-committal with respect to Nash. As in his recent edition of Girault's *Tale of Gargantua* (Harv. U. P.), he insists that this pre-Rabelaisian folk-tale was so well known that it is rash to infer that allusions in Elizabethan authors to Gargantua, Grand-

gosier, etc., derive from Rabelais. He supports Salyer's findings as to the influence upon Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*. To us the most important pages are those upon Swift, Smollett, and Sterne, which not only point out the many borrowings, but also the distinctions in purpose and tone between those humorists and the Father of Pantagruelism. He attributes the unexpectedly slight appreciation of the real Rabelais in England to the pervasive "non-conformist conscience."

So far as one can judge from the printed abstract (*Ohio State U. Abstracts*, x, 298) Victor Solberg's thesis, *A Source Book of English and American Utopias* deserves publication in full. It systematically analyzes twenty-eight Utopias, most of them of the nineteenth century, but including More's, Bacon's, Hartlib's, and Gott's. It differentiates the type from such kindred forms as the Robinsonade, idyllic romance, political treatise, religious treatise, etc., and by a process of comparison tries to determine what have proved to be the special values and limitations of the Utopias. Montgomery Carmichael (*Dubl. Rev.*, Oct., 1932) considers the significance of the fact that More chose for his ideal state a pagan rather than a Christian commonwealth.

W. G. Zeeveld (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 217) holds that Sidney in the first version of the *Arcadia* was making a veiled protest against the French marriage project; Constance M. Syford (*PMLA.*, XLIX, 472) finds the source of the Pamela-Cecropia episodes in Plutarch's *Moralia*; and Emile Legouis (*Rev. Angl. Am.*, x, 418) discusses the first French translator of an English literary work, Jean de Tourval, who translated Sidney. The reviews of Osborn's *Sidney en France* by H. C. Lancaster (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 269) and M. S. Goldman (*JEGP.*, XXXIII, 295) are rich in new information.

C. E. Saunders (*PMLA.*, XLVIII, 392) makes it clearer than ever that Greene's *Vision* and *Groatsworth of Wit* are not biography but prose fictions. D. T. Starnes (*SP.*, XXX, 455) discloses the sources of Barnabe Riche's *Sappho*. Charles J. Sisson, in *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans* (Harv. U. P.), based upon hitherto unused public records, shows that the relations between the elder brother and the younger in *Rosalynde* "are almost ludicrously paralleled to those of William and Thomas Lodge." (Cf. J. W. Draper, "Orlando, the Younger Brother," *PQ.*, XIII, 72). Alice Walker (*RES.*, IX, 410) supplements Sisson's biographical investigations, the general result of which is to reveal Lodge as a prodigal who quarreled litigiously with his steady-going bourgeois family. A delightful, if perhaps too subjective, appreciation of Deloney is Llewelyn Powys' (*Virg. Quart.*, IX, 578) who characteristically praises him

as troubled with "no idealistic notions" but loving human life, the sun, and ginger-hot-i'-the-mouth.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. D. W. Thompson (*SP.*, xxx, 59) calls attention to Bacon's use in *The New Atlantis* of the experiences of William Adams, the first English resident in Japan. Kurt Sternberg follows his study of the *Utopia* (*Arch. für Rechts und Wirtschafts-Philosophie*, xxvi, xxvii) with one on the *City of the Sun* (*Hist. Zs.*, cxlviii, 520), in which from the point of view of political science, the sources and the ideas of Campanella are minutely analyzed. Similarly the historical and political theories of Harrington's *Oceana* are examined by Richard Koebner (*Engl. Studien*, lxviii, 358). A greater interest in prose fiction as such is shown in R. N. Cunningham's good monograph, *Peter Anthony Motteux* (Blackwell). It describes Motteux' coarse but lively novelettes in the *Gentlemen's Journal*, his popular *Banquet for Gentlemen and Ladies*, and gives a thorough and judicious account of his important work as a translator of Rabelais and Cervantes. The late Mr. Whibley exalted Urquhart at the expense of Motteux,—but both Huntington Brown (*op. cit.*) and Cunningham rightly regard the Frenchman as almost his equal in style. A bibliography of Motteux by Cunningham is shortly to be published by the Oxford Bibliographical Society. Alpheus W. Smith furnishes an abstract of his "Collections and Notes of Prose Fiction in England: 1660-1714" (*Harv. U. Abst.*, 1932, 281).

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Four dissertations, two German and two American, deal with closely related subjects, and display interesting differences in aims and methods. Johanna Birnbaum's *Die Memoirs um 1700: Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der realistischen Romankunst vor Richardson* (*Stud. zur Engl. Phil.*; Niemeyer, Halle) lists more than a hundred memoirs dating from 1671 to 1740, found in the British Museum and the Bodleian; classifies them as of the court, the nobility, the bourgeoisie, and adventure; and describes some outstanding examples in detail, such as Hamilton's *Grammont* and the anonymous *Memoirs of Love and Gallantry*. The author rightly insists that this type of fiction has been too much neglected by historians, and that it prepared the reading public for the advent of Richardson. She makes much of the fact that the Puritan bourgeois could quiet his conscience by accepting the pretense that the memoirs were true history, while at the same time indulging in the forbidden delights of imaginative and impassioned narrative. She points out that many situations and devices found in the memoirs appear in Richardson's novels. She

regards her study as supplementing Schöffer's *Protestantismus und Literatur* and Danielowski's *Journale der Quaker* (both in the same series); but her knowledge of other studies in the field, including my *Mary Carleton Narratives* and the monographs on Defoe, is much too limited; and consequently, though her statements of fact are of value, her generalizations rest upon too narrow grounds.

Frank G. Black's *Technique of Letter-Fiction in English from 1740 to 1800* (*Harv. Stud.*, xv, 291), based upon Professor Greenough's extensive bibliographical collection, and upon examination of letter-novels in several large libraries, is a severely condensed report, showing that out of about 3,000 novels published during the period, at least 506 and probably many more were epistolary in form, the heights of their vogue being c. 1771 and c. 1788. Dr. Black classifies them into twelve subdivisions in a neat algebraic manner, and names the best known examples of each division. He cautiously analyzes the advantages, disadvantages, and essential methods, of the genre. He overlooks no feature perceptible to common sense, and ventures no statement that might be refutable. This is a typical product of the Greenough school of research,—incredibly diligent in accumulation, cannily keeping to verifiable facts and obvious inferences, and shrinking from anything as hazardous as literary appreciation or philosophic interpretation.

Much wider in scope, and less rigorous in method is Godfrey F. Singer's *The Epistolary Novel: Its Origin, Development, and Residuary Influence* (U. of Penn. P.). It ranges from antiquity to modern times. Its author, whose untimely death is deplorable, had gathered a large collection of letter-novels which have been given to the University of Pennsylvania Library; and his bibliography includes many rare examples. He includes consideration of Biblical and Ciceronian epistles, of Alciphron (the father of letter-fiction), of the model-letters of the sixteenth and later centuries, and finds in Nicholas Breton the man who vitalized the nascent genre. His outstanding figure, of course, is Richardson. Few will share his enthusiasm for Richardson as a moralist; but it must be acknowledged that his appreciation of the originality of Richardson's technique, is well justified. The greater or lesser skill of the other important eighteenth-century novelists is also shown, Smollett emerging very favorably from the test. Dr. Singer too often digresses from his special theme, and he harps needlessly upon the popularity of the letter-novel; but on the whole his work is a valuable one.

The most philosophical of these four dissertations is Hildegard

Zeller's *Die Ich-Erzählung im Englischen Roman (Sprache und Kultur der Germ. und Rom. Völker, XIV)*; Breslau). Its purpose is to examine the most important fictions written in the first person (novels in autobiographical or epistolary form), in order to ascertain what kinds of materials have proved most suitable for this method of narration, and what authors have been most successful in developing its inherent possibilities. Dr. Zeller, though appreciating the special advantages of the "I-form" over the "He-form," is not blind to its limitations, and believes that in those instances where it has been successfully employed certain conditions must have been met as to the novelist's relation to his plot and characters. She finds that the He-form, for reasons that she does not attempt to explain, was predominant until the eighteenth century, that the I-form was rather crudely used in the seventeenth century, and that Defoe and Swift employed it somewhat more skilfully but without fully realizing that it demands psychological kinship between the author and the supposed teller of the story. The full perception of the nature of the art was not attained before Richardson and Goldsmith; Sterne fell short of them because his teller does not narrate, but talks essays. In view of the amount of attention which writers upon the theory and technique of the novel are at present bestowing upon the so-called "withdrawal of the author from the scene," the timeliness of this thoughtful historical essay is obvious.

C. W. Webster points out some of the precursors and sources of *A Tale of a Tub* (*PMLA*, XLVIII, 1141; *MLN*, XLVIII, 251). M. M. Rossi and J. M. Hone's *Swift, or the Egoist* (Gollancz) is a piece of dogmatic impressionism, but Stephen Gwynn's *Life and Friendships of Dean Swift* (Holt) brings out points in *Gulliver's Travels* which are sometimes overlooked. The Oxford University Press provides in inexpensive form a complete unexpurgated edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Battle of the Books*, etc. The introductions, by W. A. Eddy (though slightly negligent about acknowledging indebtedness to previous interpreters) are the best new criticisms; they set forth Swift's attitude and purpose in a thoroughly sound way, and should help to destroy current misconceptions.

P. B. Anderson (*PQ*, XIII, 168; cf. *Harv. Abstr.*, 1932, 194) holds that Mrs. Manley deserves a better repute, because of her insight into character and the breadth of her interests. New facts, from the Public Record Office, about the troublous life of Defoe are given by J. R. Sutherland (*RES*, IX, 275; *MLR*, XXIX, 137). W. H. Bonner (*RES*, X, 320) stresses his interest in geographical

publications. H. H. Anderson (*U. of Chicago Abstr.*, 1934) is highly indignant over the inconsistency between Defoe's moral idealism and his support of aggressive commercialism. E. G. Fletcher (*N&Q.*, CLXIV, 4) compares University of Texas copies of *Robinson Crusoe* with Hutchins' descriptions; and J. R. Moore (*N&Q.*, CLXIV, 26, 249) suggests that some of its nomenclature derives from Dampier. C. E. Burch (*Engl. Stud.*, LXVII, 178; LXVIII, 410) traces the changes in Defoe's reputation from 1719 to 1894. Entertaining as well as useful is the collection of memoirs of Jack Shepherd in the Notable British Trials series (Hodge). A. W. Secord (*TLS.*, Apr. 19, 1934) provides the first dependable data about Alexander Smith's *Lives of the Highwaymen*.

P. B. Anderson (*MLN.*, XLIX, 178) detects Prevost borrowing from Otway's *Orphan*. A. D. McKillop's "English Circulating Libraries: 1725-50" (*Trans. Bibl. Soc.*) demonstrates the close connection between minor novelists, booksellers, and librarians. Elsewhere (*RES.*, IX, 67) he supplies from MS records of the Stationer's Company, the hitherto unknown facts about Richardson's early years as a printer. W. M. Sale (*Yale Univ. Libr. Gaz.*, VII, 80) relates Richardson's experiences with practical Dublin publishers. An ingenious essay in creative imagination is E. K. Broadus' "Mr. Richardson Arrives" (*Lond. Mercury*, XXVIII, 425). Charlotte Lefever (*PMLA.*, XLVIII, 856) suggests that Richardson's success was paradoxical because he intended to produce type-characters and model letters, but was sometimes carried out of himself into the creation of the individual and the unconventional.

B. Maelor Jones of the Middle Temple, in *Henry Fielding: Novelist and Magistrate* (Allen and Unwin), authoritatively enhances Fielding's reputation as a noble character and courageous reformer (Cf. letters by A. R. Leslie-Melville and Paul de Castro, *TLS.*, July 27, Aug. 10, 1934). W. J. T. Collins describes *The True Anti-Pamela*, by James Parry (*Monmouthshire Rev.*, I, 8). L. M. Knapp (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 246) produces some revealing letters by Smollett; and J. H. Birss (*N&Q.*, CLXIV, 315; CLXV, 189) presents more of his correspondence. Sterne emerges surprisingly well from a scrutiny of his record as a parish priest, made by S. L. Ollard (*TLS.*, May 25, June 1, 1933). The "points" of the first edition of *Tristram Shandy* are listed in *TLS.*, Feb. 22, and Apr. 12, 1934. J. R. Moore (*MP.*, XXXI, 79) contends that Paltock's *Peter Wilkins* furnished some details to *The Ancient Mariner*.

R. S. Crane (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 462) proves that Goldsmith was

termed "Dr." earlier in his career than has been supposed. Harold Stein (*MLN.*, **XLIX**, 171), dealing with the so-called Goldsmith's translation of the *Roman Comique*, furnishes an amusing illustration of the economy of effort bestowed by that author upon his hackwork. The beginnings of his popularity in France are traced, from the *Mercure*, by W. Roberts (*TLS.*, Nov. 30, Dec. 28, 1933). A fine analysis of his personality appears in *TLS.*, Mch. 1, 1934; and W. F. Gallaway (*PMLA.*, **XLVIII**, 1167) pleads that we should discriminate between his common sense, tempered with kindheartedness, and the thoroughgoing sentimentalism of the Shaftesburian school.

A. A. Overman's *Investigation into the Character of Fanny Burney* (Amsterdam), based upon a new system of psychology, makes much of her alleged "infantilism," "father-fixation," etc., but does not contribute anything substantially new towards an understanding of her personality and work. The authorship of *The Sylph*, a popular novel admired by Miss Burney, is attributed by an anonymous scholar (*TLS.*, June 21, 1934) to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. G. L. Joughin's dissertation, *The Life and Work of Elizabeth Inchbald* (*Harv. U. Abstr.*, 1933), shows that the social theories of her *Nature and Art* were influenced by a temporary contact with Godwin's circle, and confirms the general judgment that *A Simple Story* is her most artistic work. The unpublished MS of this thesis includes an extensive bibliography of her works, a list of her reading, and a transcript of her essay on the art of the novel.

Margaret E. Macgregor's *Amelia Opie: Worldling and Friend* (*Smith Coll. Stud.*, **xiv**) is a good biography, thoroughly documented, of a notable personality. Miss Macgregor meant to include in it a critical study of Mrs. Opie's novels, but unfortunately her death intervened. She has, however, left us the essential foundations for such a study. Jane Austen's *Volume the First* (Clarendon Pr.), written in her 'teens, contains amusing parodies of the novels of the 1780's and 90's. This little volume is edited by R. W. Chapman with his usual expertness and good taste.

J. M. Stein (*SP.*, **xxxI**, 51) shows that Railo was mistaken in seeing genuinely Shaksperian influence in Walpole. The best that can be said for K. K. Mehrotra's *Horace Walpole and the English Novel: 1764-1820* (Blackwell) is that it is handsomely produced, and that it shows first-hand acquaintance with nearly 200 novels and their contemporary reviews. The attempt to isolate the specifically Walpolean current in the ocean of Gothic novels was timely and worthwhile; but to do so successfully, it would

obviously be necessary to define accurately the features peculiar to *Otranto*, and to know the studies of specialists in that field. In both requirements, Mr. Mehrotra fails. His diligence is wasted because of lack of scholarly method. He pleads that he had already written his book when Miss Tompkins' appeared (why not thereupon revise his own?); and, incredible as it may seem, he knew nothing of the studies of Foster on Prevost, of Brauchli on the "Castle novels," of Gerhard Buck on the Historical Novel, or of Heidler on the History of Criticism, each of which concerns a vital point in his dissertation. That such disregard of the basic principles of research should be permitted in a thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Letters, *Oxon.*, is disquieting.

Lois Whitney's *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Johns Hopkins Pr.) originated in "a casual reading" of Charlotte Smith's novels; and many of its pages deal with novelists,—Henry Brooke, Charlotte Lennox, Day, Holcroft, Bage, Melmouth, etc. It shows a wide knowledge of the scholarly investigations of scores of novelists (Gignilliat's *Day* being one of the very few studies that have been overlooked). It gives keen and dependable analyses of the novelists' views concerning the state of nature, the simple life, evolution, and the future of mankind. Not in reproach but in sorrow I must, however, add that this learned study has been seduced from the realm of the history of imaginative literature into that of the history of thought. It is a volume in the series, "Contributions to the History of Primitivism"; its foreword is by an eminent professor of the realistic school of philosophy; and it is dedicated to an equally eminent professor of literature who inclines to identify the history of literature with the history of ideas. Consistently therewith it weighs the novelists as thinkers, and finds them steeped in fallacies. Many of those poor wretches fancied that mankind had been happier in primitive times, and also that mankind would be happier in the future; but, from the viewpoint of realistic philosophy, they were therefore muddle-headed. The rationalistic historian of thought is bound by his axioms to scorn the faith that imagination has descried the truth about human destiny more truly than logic can do, that life is a paradox, and that art which portrays it paradoxically is truer than common sense; but this is the faith to which the greatest authors testify, and to which literary historians who understand them must adhere.

ERNEST BERNBAUM

University of Illinois

REVIEWS

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer: *Huttens letzte Tage. An Historical-Critical Edition.* By ROBERT BRUCE ROULSTON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 238.

Ulrich von Hutten died when thirty-five years of age. Herman Hirt is quite right when he says (*Ges. d. d. Spr.*, 2nd ed., p. 180) that when a Swiss has difficulty in determining what language he shall employ it is not a question of choice between Hochdeutsch or Schwyzerdütsch but between Hochdeutsch and Französisch. No Swiss ever felt the strain imposed by this alternative more acutely than C. F. Meyer. The war of 1870-71 persuaded him to adopt German. His first major work in it was *Huttens letzte Tage*, with its scant 15,000 words, here edited in a volume $7\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ inches, 238 pages, quite enough room in fact to contain the whole of Shakespeare, if published in brilliant or even diamond type. Heaven bless our university presses! Without them we would know no such spatial sumptuousness.

This is the most objective piece of scholarship that has ever come to the present writer's notice. *Huttens letzte Tage* is a precious and priceless German "Dichtung." It is also without a single exception the most difficult creation of its length to read with American students. It is based on history, bristles with veiled allusions, fetching subtleties, and poetic niceties. Yet of all this we have not a word. The editor staked off a gateless paddock and never once even so much as looked over the fence while doing his duty. For this we may well thank him; for his immediate task, which might have been done less expensively but could hardly have been done better, was in itself so important that had he branched out into the subjective realm of literary appreciation we might have suffered from a confusion of issues. On the contrary, Roulston assures us that he meant his edition to be merely the "foundation for all future studies of the work."

Here was the problem. On June 13, 1871, Meyer wrote "... und bringe mit Ihrer Erlaubniß den fertigen Hutten mit." In other words, the first edition, though it carries the date 1872, was finished in 1871. An eleventh edition appeared in 1897 or 1898, and a twelfth in 1899. But the tenth is regarded as the "Ausgabe letzter Hand," so that we have ten different editions of this work that show variants. All the editions were small, about 750 copies, some of them are to-day exceedingly rare, the proof-reading was none too good. Roulston has succeeded in procuring a copy of each edition, has reproduced here, in long primer type, on expansive pages, in

parallel columns that admit of effortless survey, the 10th (1896), 5th (1884), 3rd (1881), and 1st (1872) editions, each correctly proof-read, has given the actual variants of the remaining six editions, an uncommonly succinct account of their history (pp. ix-xv), the relevant references from Meyer's correspondence bearing on the work (pp. 220-236), and a series of sensible indices. It is an upstanding piece of work such as is done infrequently by American scholars; and it is more useful than showy.

Here is the point: No man who has ever written anything has failed to submit a manuscript to the United States Post Office without at once wishing he had it back in order to make some change. But in the average mortal's life that inept expression is like an elephant's tusk: once you get it out of your mouth you can't get it back in, for the proof returns to you in time with the editorial injunction to "make only necessary changes." Meyer was a poet; when he wanted to make a change, he did so through the medium of a new edition. Let us see, in just a few cases, how he grew stylistically, bearing in mind that a successful war made him a German poet. Would he have become a French poet had it not been for Sedan? Was he actually *deutschfest* when he wrote these earlier editions? For in his letters from this same period there is an abundance of French or near-French words that would set Eduard Engel to writing still another *Entwelschung* (new ed. 1918, 616 double-column pages).

In the writer's own desk copy (Leipzig: Haessel, 33rd ed., 1906) there are 8 main sections and 71 sub-sections, with a total of around 1000 couplets, or "stanzas" as Roulston rather loosely calls (p. ix) them. It is always most difficult to write the first few words. The opening couplet in the first edition (1872) runs as follows:

Wie nennst du, Schiffer, dort im Wellenblau
Das Eiland?—"Herr, das ist die Ufенau!"

That is distinctly superior to the version of 1896 (10th ed.):

Schiffer! Wie nennst du dort im Wellenblau
Das Eiland?—"Herr, es ist die Ufенau!"

This latter version lays too much stress on the skipper as contrasted with the island, the object in which Hutten was primarily interested. If Voltaire was right in contending that *L'adjectif est l'ennemi du substantif*, Meyer was given to shifting hostilities within his syntax without previous notice. Compare

Lass, Schriftgelehrter, deinen Styl mich schau'n!
Er ist nicht glatt, nein ungehobelt, traun! (1872)

with

Der Styl ist gut! Der Styl verdient ein Lob!
Glatt, elegant . . . Potz Blitz, da wirst du grob! (1884)

This latter entails difficulties. Visually, the rhyme is perfect; in

everyday speech it is not, and Meyer did not know much about the etymology of "grob" with the attendant peculiarity in its sound. Regardless of the lexicons, "grob" rhymes with "ob" as it comes from the lips of people.

What Meyer said (p. 224) in 1871 about "das neue Reich" has a peculiarly prophetic ring 63 years later and now. In 1881 he wrote under the noticeable caption "Deutsche Libertät"

Geduld! Wir stehen einst um Ein Panier
Und wer uns scheiden will, den morden wir!

In the versions of 1884 and 1896, only one word is changed: For *Ein* read *ein*. Lasting lessons in the evolution of style, and a number of other issues more important because more *gegenwärtig*, *zeitwirksam*, and *tagwichtig*, can be learned from a comparative study of these ten versions. Heretofore it was far too troublesome to approach the alluring task from the comparative angle. It is only a pity that this uniquely excellent study had to cost \$3.00.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD

West Virginia University

The Use of Swa in Old English. By E. E. ERICSON. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1932. [*Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe. 12. Heft.*] Pp. 89.

With this doctoral dissertation a well trained and industrious investigator announces his entrance into the field of Old English syntax. The subject chosen for this piece of research and the analytical ability shown will make it profitable reading for all students of English grammar.

Dr. Ericson lists under twenty-four headings all the different uses of the form *swa* that he has encountered. He does not make clear what his plan of arrangement is, beginning abruptly (without introduction) with selected examples of *swa* as a Conjunctive Adverb and ending (without conclusion) with examples of *swa* as an Asseverative. Thus the eighty-nine pages of this study give the reader the impression rather of a series of isolated notes than of a connected study. The author has gleaned every use of *swa* from all the poetry and the first five volumes of the *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*. It is regrettable that he did not read all the available prose in view of the fact, as he says, p. 5, that he was led to this subject because "up to the present time no one has attempted an exhaustive study of the word" (*swa*).

The form *swa* embraces so many subtle gradations of meaning and function in OE texts that one may often choose among several possible interpretations. Dr. Ericson in his analyses has often permitted himself to be influenced by the Middle and Modern English development of *swa* constructions, thus adopting an historical point of view. But there are cases in which a more conservative interpretation can be justified and, in the present reviewer's opinion, would be preferred. For example, p. 61, under the heading Causal Clauses, the OE *swa* still retains its modal force and it is extremely doubtful whether the causal relationship is expressed. Passages like *Beowulf* 1142, *Swā he ne forwyrnde*, which Ericson, following Kemp Malone, interprets "since he did not prevent his lord," etc. and *Andreas* 937,

Aris nu hrædlice, ræd ædre ongit,
beorn gebledsod, *swa* þe beorht fæder
geworðað wuldorgifum,

which he interprets "for the bright Father shall honor thee," do not exhibit such a degree of hypotaxis as to warrant the causal connective that we use in Contemporary English. We shall be closer to the true syntax if we interpret all these examples from the poetry paratactically as simply "thus," "and thus," or "in this way." However, the author generally takes a conservative position throughout the study, and this is its outstanding merit. Cf. page 27, "*swa* as a pronoun," where he prefers to retain the original and basic modal force wherever possible: "OE lexicographers and translators have been too ready to render these pseudo-substantives as pronouns. Many of them give the clearest possible meaning if taken in the usual modal sense."

Dr. Ericson, although dealing with syntax over a period of more than three hundred years, unfortunately recognizes no distinction between early and late usage, between poetry and prose, or between dialects. The gradual spread of certain of his categories and the choking off of certain others have not been noticed; and the reader misses the sense of being brought close to a living and changing phenomenon of language, which might easily have been achieved. Which uses of *swa* belong to General Germanic and which sprang up in English alone cannot be told from his study; nor is there any estimate of the possible Latin influence, although the Latin is available in the texts used, and is occasionally cited. A student of syntax may choose to confine himself to the purely descriptive method. But knowing our author's broad training in General Germanic, and observing his occasional interesting use of the historical and the comparative methods, one is disappointed that he did not give his treatise a broad foundation. In the opinion of the present reviewer, the scattered nature of the OE monuments

on the one hand, and the accessibility of scholarship in the Germanic field on the other, make it incumbent upon the student of OE syntax to take the Comparative Germanic point of view.

A practice that students of grammar will find difficulty in overlooking is the failure to use important works on English and Germanic syntax and to place the treatise in the best tradition of OE scholarship. Of course, any investigator is theoretically free to set aside previous findings on his subject. All the syntactical categories of *swa* here discussed have been touched upon at different times by Wülfing, Jespersen, Sweet, Eitle, Einenkel, Koch, Zupitza, Behaghel, and Delbrück, among others: but throughout the study no credit is given to any grammarian in this field, except references to one article by E. A. Kock and to three by Dr. Ericson himself on *swa* (properly parts of this study).

Moreover, Dr. Ericson places great emphasis upon the published translations of OE writings, his Bibliography being made up exclusively of thirty-seven translations and five Latin sources. The standard works on syntax and the dissertations touching on *swa* do not appear in the Bibliography and are not used in the body of the work. Seeing the microscope of syntax held up to the translations of Moncrieff and Hall for certain Beowulf passages, one instinctively cries for Klaeber, who has analyzed every occurrence of *swa*. Similarly, Wülfing has been entirely ignored in the discussion of Alfred's syntax.

But the student of language will find in these pages much that will increase and sharpen his knowledge of the OE *swa* group. In the words of the author (p. 5): "It would be presumptuous in the writer to lay too high a claim for the practical value of such a study. It will, of course, serve as a supplement to the various Old English dictionaries. It will establish precedent for the translation of *swa* in the Old English texts. But whether of practical value or not, it will at least serve to document the early linguistic history of the prolific *as—so* family."

GEORGE WILLIAM SMALL

University of Maine

L'Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre français de 1600 à 1657. Par S. WILMA HOLSOER. Paris: Droz, 1933. Pp. 336.

L'Evolution de la tragédie religieuse classique en France. Par KOSTA LOUKOVITCH. Paris: Droz, 1933. Pp. xii + 471.

These two theses are the first volumes of the Bibliothèque de la Société des Historiens du Théâtre. Miss Holsboer gives, under an attractive form, a useful guide to those interested in questions of

theaters, scenery, costumes, and stage mechanisms. She presents her material clearly and adds thirty-two interesting full-page illustrations as well as, in an appendix, extensive extracts from Sabatini. It is much to her credit that, despite the fact that she holds a professorship in Java, she was able to make so good a synthesis of the work that has been done on the subject during the last two centuries. There are, however, a number of errors of detail that detract from the value of the book. As I understand that the edition has been exhausted, I hope that these will be corrected when it is republished.

P. 22, the title of my article in *RHL*, 1922, is not the *Foire de Saint-Germain*, but *de Rayssiguier*. Pp. 33, 34, 49, etc. the numbers referring to the illustrations are incorrect. Pp. 65-89, she lays too much stress on theory in comparison with actual dramatic practice. P. 77, for 1655 read 1635. P. 78, for 1636 read 1637. P. 116, the "perspective circulaire" would not have struck her as "de pure fantaisie" if she had examined the engravings published with La Serre's *Sainte Catherine*. P. 133, *Polyeucte* was first played at the Marais, not at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. P. 134, the quotation from *Osman* is not altogether correct and Bernardin's explanation of it is not to be accepted. P. 136, Corneille was not opposed to the use of chains, for Syphax had worn them on the stage for some time before Lelius released him. P. 139, she repeats M. Cohen's erroneous statement in regard to the origin of the name of the Elizabethan theater, *The Curtain*. P. 163, for *Philisbée* read *Philisthée*; it requires considerable naïveté to believe that blood was represented by "sang réel." P. 168, how could a play by Racine be mentioned in a work published in 1662? *Mithridate* refers, of course, to La Calprenède's tragedy, not to Racine's. P. 182, as Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens* was first acted at the Marais, there is no reason to suppose that Bellerose is represented by Beausoleil. P. 183, *Scévoie* was first acted by the troupe of the *Illustre Théâtre*, and earlier than 1646. P. 184, Montdory, not Beauchasteau, created the rôle of Rodrigue. Pp. 183, 184, 191, 193, I have shown that the tradition, based on Chappuzeau, that Floridor succeeded Bellerose in 1643 must be rejected; it is in conflict with evidence that Miss H. herself publishes on p. 244. P. 186, it was at the Marais in 1637, not at the Hôtel in 1636, that la Beauchasteau created the rôle of the Infanta. Pp. 186-7, the wives of Brécourt and La Thuillerie were not "congédiées" in 1680, but were then living on a pension paid by the troupe. P. 192, there is no evidence that *Don Japhet* was written for Jodelet; for Tessonnier read Tessonnière; *l'Amour à la mode* was written by Thomas Corneille, not by "Gusman." P. 202, why hesitate between evidence furnished by Corneille in regard to one of his own plays and that which comes from a publication of 1740? P. 229, repetition of the old error that Hardy was the only French dramatist of his day. P. 240, n. 1, for 170 read 429. P. 269, she cites Rigal incompletely, for he held that the teston was the price of a seat in a box, while admission to the parterre was only half that amount.

Mr. Loukovitch's thesis has less popular interest than that of Miss Holsboer, but makes a more genuine contribution to knowledge. It is quite superior to Miss Pascoe's publication, from which it differs not only in quality but in conception, for Mr. Loukovitch insists that he is not writing a history of religious tragedy, but is seeking "d'éclaircir la genèse, de fixer les moments de l'évolution

et d'expliquer les causes de la décadence de ce genre littéraire." He enters more fully than has been done hitherto into the history of clerical opposition to the theater, emphasizes the influence of the counter-reformation upon the composition of *Polyeucte*, *Saint-Genest*, and contemporary plays, and relates the decay of the *genre* to the hostility both of the Church and of polite society. While most of the documents he cites were already known to students of the drama, he makes at least one interesting discovery, a letter written to Conrart from Grasse late in 1637 in which it is shown that an unknown play, *le Favory solitaire*, had recently been performed at Paris. He is unsuccessful in his attempt to identify this with Baro's *Saint Eustache*, but he is probably correct in his claim that it is the earliest evidence we have of the performance by professional dramatists on a Parisian seventeenth-century stage of a religious play. It is, however, possible that the work may be a school-play and consequently without much significance. There are a number of errors to which I would call his attention.

P. 75, reference by an author to the nymph, Astrée, does not in any way imply that he was familiar with the novel of that name; for Jean Mainfray *read* Pierre Mainfray (also p. 327). Pp. 121-2, he quite fails to understand what I wrote about the resemblance between *Sainte Agnès* and *Polyeucte*. P. 123, there is no proof that "P. M." means Pierre Mathieu. P. 133, the parallels he cites between *Athénais* and *Polyeucte* do not prove influence. P. 140, as M. Magendie is far from showing that *Polyeucte* influenced *Cléopâtre*, L. is not justified in dating the play by the date of the novel. P. 150, farces were regularly acted after longer plays, not before. Pp. 154-5, what proof is there that the *Crispus* of Stephonius had any influence on the *Mort de Chrispe* of Tristan l'Hermite? P. 159, L. misrepresents my explanation of the causes that led Corneille to write *Polyeucte*. He would lead one to suppose that I thought he derived the idea from Heinsius alone. As a matter of fact, I mentioned the various possible influences, but, as there is no conclusive evidence, I was unable to assert which of them determined his choice; L. fixes on one of them without hesitation, for he needs no other proof in such matters than his own intuition. P. 209, l. 2, *read* Cauchon. P. 213, for 1600 *read* 1593-4. P. 233, Corneille did not need to look to Bartolommei for the emperor's victory over the Persians, since it is mentioned by Coeffeteau. P. 296, *Bradamante* and *Clarionte* are tragi-comedies, not tragedies. P. 323, there is no evidence that *Artaxerxe* was played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. P. 339, why look to a "cabale" for whose existence there is no evidence rather than accept the conclusion that Rotrou borrowed from Desfontaines, as he did from many other authors? P. 341, it is too much to say that Rotrou owed to Lope the "charpente de sa tragédie." P. 381, he seems to be unaware that the source of the *maximes* in *l'Ecole des femmes* was pointed out by M. Lanson years ago (cf. *Revue bleue*, Dec. 2, 1899).

H. C. LANCASTER

Le Roman Belge Contemporain. By BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE. Préface de MAURICE WILMOTTE. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Belgian Series, 1933. xxi + 214 pp. \$1.25.

The subtitle of Professor Woodbridge's book indicates the scope of his study: "Cinq romanciers Flamands: Charles De Coster, Camille Lemonnier, Georges Eekhoud, Eugène Demolder, George Virrès." The book then is not to be considered a literary history; it is a series of five essentially independent essays, bound together by the emphasis placed upon the common effort of these writers to create a national literature. The need for such a study of these too often neglected Flemish novelists is discussed at some length in a preface by M. Wilmotte.

In the first chapter, after a few introductory paragraphs noting the venerable past of Belgian letters, and claiming as essentially Belgian the *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, the *Roman de Renart*, and the illustrious figures of Froissart and Commynes, Mr. Woodbridge proceeds to a detailed consideration of the novels of De Coster, and especially of his *Ulenspiegel*, which he characterizes as "la Bible nationale grâce à son heureux effort de lier le passé au présent et de forger l'avenir." In subsequent chapters W. treats the "roman lyrique" of Lemonnier, the "roman nostalgique" of Eekhoud, the novels of "un peintre romancier, Eugène Demolder," and finally the works of Georges Virrès, "romancier catholique." This fashion that W. has of coupling with the author's name a single adjective is effective, but the implications of this one word are sometimes deceptive. The very variety of these novelists, and the occasional suggestion of the paradoxical in their attitudes, tend to render inadequate such condensed generalities. The matter is however of little consequence, for during the course of each discussion the material is analyzed so fully and so honestly that the ultimate impression is amply justified.

Emphasizing the life and environment of the writers, noting the outside influences that touched them, W. interprets each author's character through the medium of his novels, persuading the reader by abundant quotations from these novels. In this way interweaving description with criticism, W. convinces by the very absence of arbitrary dogmatism, and at the same time brings even to the reader unfamiliar with the works of these Belgian authors a satisfactory portrayal of their essential characteristics.

GEORGE B. FUNDENBURG

University of Maine

Recherches lexicographiques sur d'anciens textes français d'origine juive. Par RAPHAEL LEVY. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. 92. The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Extra Volume V.

Dr. Levy requires no introduction to those interested in Romance linguistics. His competence as a lexicographer reflects much credit upon American scholarship. Since the death of his former teacher, Professor D. S. Blondheim, it is probable that Dr. Levy is now the outstanding authority in Judaeo-Romance. His *Recherches* offers 815 Old French forms: a few of them new words, while others have spellings or meanings not adequately discussed in either Godefroy or the *Glossaire hébreu-français du XIII^e siècle* published by Brandin and Lambert in 1905. Most of this material has come from the marginal and interlinear comments on eight Hebrew MSS, which Levy designates as MSS B, C, D, E, F, G, b, and q. In this book the lower half of each page reproduces the glosses themselves in Hebrew characters with MS citations; the upper half lists the Old French words in Roman transliteration with renderings into modern French. An appendix closes the book where glosses on ch. L of Jeremiah are given from six MS sources and from the Brandin-Lambert printed *Glossaire*.

In his introduction Dr. Levy promises a future study on the value of these words for Old French. We regret that he did not include this within the present monograph. I might say, in general, that these Judaeo-French words show unusual compounds, such phonological changes as the disappearance of *s* when followed by a consonant, interchange of *d* with voiced *s*, frequent omission of the nasal, and various other sporadic phenomena. Above all there are some astounding semantic developments in certain words, as in the case of *aider* (no. 40). This translates Hebrew *teda'i* 'thou gainest unjustly' (Ezech., xxii, 12). Dr. Levy equates it with Old French *aisier* and postulates the semantic evolution "mettre à son aise, enrichir."

In this last connection I should like to make a query. Where the Judaeo-French word (which translates a specific Hebrew word in the text) is followed by a brief Hebrew phrase, Dr. Levy has apparently used this phrase as indicating exactly the meaning of the French word. In several instances I feel that this Hebrew phrase is intended as a comment on the figurative meaning of the Hebrew text and is related only indirectly to the Judaeo-French translation. For example: *badia* (no. 144) glosses Hebrew *zonov* 'tail.'¹ Having no further clue to the meaning of *badia* I should render it as 'tail.' It is followed by the Hebrew phrase *odōn*

¹ "Neither shall there be any work for Egypt, which the head (*roš*) or tail (*zonov*), branch or rush, may do" (Isaiah, xix, 15).

va'eed 'master and servant,' but this is surely a comment upon the entire figurative passage, *roš vazonov*, and is not intended to have any literal connection with the Judaeo-French word. But Dr. Levy renders *badia* as "serviteur." My reading of this word, from the Hebrew characters in the lower half of the page, is *ebadia*. If Dr. Levy had a specific reason for discarding the initial *e*- we should know of it. In word no. 806, *versure*, Levy gives no meaning, hesitating doubtless over the sense of Hebrew *viyodotem* which it glosses. This meaningless Hebrew form is certainly an error for *viyodehem* 'and their hands,' which I find at this point in a standard text of the Hebrew Bible.² In such a case *versure* doubtless meant 'palm' or 'underside of the hand turned up.' Word no. 60, *aloen*, is the normal Old French word for 'aloes,' occurring in all the early medical texts. I believe it is out of place here in a list devoted primarily to Judaeo-French expressions. The title which Dr. Levy has given this book does not indicate with precision the contents. French words occurring in glosses on Hebrew MSS furnish most of the material—not "anciens textes français d'origine juive."

This monograph is of capital importance and should be essential for every lexicographer in the Romance field.

URBAN T. HOLMES

The University of North Carolina

The Classic Deities in Bacon: A Study in Mythological Symbolism.

By CHARLES W. LEMMI. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. ix + 224. \$2.50.

Of late years there has been a new interest in the allegorical mythographers of the Renaissance and their influence, and Professor Lemmi, who had touched the subject before, in this scholarly book makes a thorough study of the sources of Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum*. The introductory chapter is a solidly documented survey of the allegorical tradition from ancient times down, as represented by Natalis Comes, Boccaccio, the alchemists, Ficino and ancient and modern Neo-Platonists, Du Bartas, Sandys, Macrobius, Servius, and others. Coming to Bacon's work, Professor Lemmi devotes the first part of his book (pp. 46-150) to "symbols of scientific speculation." Controverting such remarks as one of my own, that a good deal of Bacon's exegesis seems to be original, Professor Lemmi quotes abundantly from such sources as those already mentioned, especially Comes, from whom "Bacon took over the bulk of his semi-Empedoclean cosmology" (p. 146). The way in which

² *Biblia Hebraica*, ed. Rudolf Kittel (Stuttgart, 1912).

Bacon adapts traditional allegorical interpretations to vivifying, elucidating, and adorning his scientific philosophy and aspirations is interesting enough to the casual reader, but Professor Lemmi's detailed demonstration greatly enriches one's understanding of Bacon and his age. At the same time, on the critic's own showing a good deal of Bacon's exegesis does seem to be original, however much traditional matter it starts from. The second part of the monograph, "Symbols of Worldly Wisdom," deals with those chapters of Bacon's book which are akin to the *Essays*; in these Bacon makes myths the text for discussions of problems of government and political conduct. Here also he draws at times, though less patently, on the mythographers, but more upon the non-mythological wisdom of such writers as Machiavelli.

There is not much room or occasion for supplementary comment. It may be observed that a number of Bacon's expositions, without his special scientific turns, had appeared in English in Abraham Fraunce's *Third part of the Countesse of Pembroke's Ivychurch* (1592); Fraunce of course was using the same and kindred sources. To mention only one item, Professor Lemmi remarks (p. 65) that Boccaccio seems to be the only writer before Bacon who associates the Fates with Pan as symbolizing the forces of nature; Fraunce apparently does so, near the beginning of his book, in a passage based on Leo Hebraeus (see *Dialoghi d'Amore*, ed. Caramella, 1929, p. 112). Professor Lemmi (pp. 4, 9, etc.), takes Legouais as the author of the *Ovide moralisé*. That identification has, I think, been long abandoned; see, for example, Otto Gruppe, *Geschichte der Klassischen Mythologie* etc. (Leipzig, 1921), p. 17. Sandy's translation with the commentary is said (p. 208) to have appeared between 1621 and 1626; is there any evidence that the commentary appeared before 1632? Professor Lemmi's pages have a minor blemish in the form of a rather excessive number of misprints, chiefly in English words; four Greek words (pp. 51, 53) are misspelled. The index is far from complete, even for the items listed, and there are not enough items, so that consultation is not so easy as it ought to be in a book packed with detail.

In general, whether or not one accepts all of the author's particular parallels and comments (and most of them seem to be acceptable), perhaps only a fellow worker in the multitudinous sources of Renaissance mythology knows what a devilish business it is, and can properly appreciate the labor and learning put into this valuable book. Throughout Professor Lemmi shows a feeling for Bacon's imaginative as well as his philosophic power, and a sympathetic understanding of his aims and methods. He sees his subject in a large perspective, and uses his findings to emphasize the fact that, like Spenser and most men of the time, Bacon stood—to quote again that celebrated youthful dictum—"with one foot

in the Middle Ages, while with the other he saluted the rising dawn of the Renaissance."

DOUGLAS BUSH

University of Minnesota

The Tragedy of King Richard III. Edited by HAZELTON SPENCER. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1933. Pp. xxx + 254. \$0.60. (The Arden Shakespeare.)

Professor Spencer has given us in this edition of *Richard III* one of the soundest pieces of scholarship and one of the most interesting critical approaches that has been presented by editors of this Arden edition of Shakespeare's plays. He has not blindly accepted the Globe text, but has established one which is the result of a careful independent study of the problems involved. In the elucidations of his notes he makes liberal use of his intimate knowledge of conventions of the Elizabethan stage and of his insight into the drama of that time as a form of theatrical entertainment.

Certain points of view presented in Professor Spencer's critical introduction are important enough for a just interpretation of the play to deserve examination. His discussion of the relation between the various texts, particularly the puzzling one between *F₁* and *Q₁* is clear and his conclusions sound. In brief, his opinion is that the Folio is the closer of the two to Shakespeare's original intention and that most of the omissions in the quarto represent cuts made to adapt the play to the exigencies of the stage. The *Q* additions he considers to be largely actors' gags. However, he finds it impossible to regard the substantial addition in the second scene of Act IV (ll. 102-120), as of this sort. He asserts that it contains "one of the most effective theatrical moments of the play." However, a close study of the passage will show that its theatrical effectiveness is gained at the expense of obscuring the essential dramatic significance of the scene. Shakespeare at this point was at pains to show what effect the mention of Richmond's name has upon Richard's mind. It puzzles his will and directs his memory to brooding upon prophecies friendly to his foe. In other words, Shakespeare devised the scene as a vivid display of Richard when he first falls under the shadow of nemesis. The lines interpolated in *Q₁* divert one's attention to a quite different interest—to the skill with which Richard plays with Buckingham's ineptitude in pressing his suit at this moment. The "Well let it strike" answered by "Why let it strike" is the familiar question and answer of actors working up to a gag, which Richard gets off in the last speech. The passage, then, instead of testing the editor's

theory, in the opinion of the reviewer, confirms it. The correct interpretation of these lines is a necessary preliminary to a discovery of the principle by which Shakespeare sought to give unity to this play.

The thesis of Professor Spencer's critical comment upon this tragedy is that *Richard III* is an inferior work of art. He is interested in driving home this opinion. He begins his history of the text with the sentence, "Little can be said for this play as a piece of imaginative literature"; and phrases of detraction appear throughout the introduction whenever the editor has the slightest excuse to insert them. The play he says has a "specious sort of unity." Richard, who is at the center of the play, possesses a character so rigorously fixed at the opening of the drama, that events do not affect him at all. The entire action, therefore, takes place on the surface of life and consequently is merely melodramatic. The play has been popular on the stage only because of Richard's electric energy and the corresponding vigor of the phrases which he speaks. They all call for dynamic movement and so make Richard "one of the most effective acting rôles ever written.

All this is well said, even if it contradicts the editor's earlier characterization of Richard as "a dummy, a stuffed shirt!" However, in directing his attention to proving that *Richard III* is a melodrama rather than a tragedy, Professor Spencer, in the reviewer's opinion, ignores one of the most distinctive features of this play. In this early, obviously Senecan, tragedy Shakespeare seems to have realized all the formal possibilities of his master's strange combination of dramatic lyricism and the exhibition of moral system built upon the conception of nemesis. It may be true that the action of the play takes place entirely upon the surface of life, but Shakespeare has worked that surface into an elaborate artistic pattern. The moral of Richard's ascent to a shaky eminence, to which he climbs under the false impetus of hubris,—of the darkening of his will as the shadow of nemesis falls upon him and of his subsequent fall forms the great arc of the play. Beneath its shelter are drawn, in one small curve merging into another, similar moral dramas of Clarence, of the Queen's kindred, of Hastings, and of Buckingham. Each one of these little arcs is subtly differentiated from the others by the distinctive way in which each character exhibits his hubris and the reception of his moral doom. Other examples of artful structural formalism can be found throughout the play. Thus Richard's wooing of Anne is balanced by his later wooing of Elizabeth. The scenes of antiphonal wailing and cursing present the same phenomenon on a smaller scale, as the stichomuthia does in the smallest dramatic unit of all,—the dialogue. This point of view need not be developed at length. The play is the most skillfully developed ex-

ample of what the late Barrett Wendell called the "operatic" tradition of the early chronicle play. It is a pity that an editor whose historical scholarship is so sure and whose estimate of the essentially theatrical qualities of Elizabethan plays so sound should neglect to make clear the carefully wrought dramatic formalism of *Richard III*, and its significance in the development of Elizabethan tragedy.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

University of Michigan

A History of Shakespearian Criticism. By AUGUSTUS RALLI. London: Oxford University Press, 1932. 2 vols., pp. x + 566, vi + 582. \$12.00.

This is more anthology than history, though the critics are set forth, not by reprinting their essays, but by abstracting them, and though Mr. Ralli comments liberally. He displays indeed a pretty talent for summary; but his own critical position, if it can be called such, is incorrigibly, nay, wildly, romantic. One is disconcerted at the outset to find all the Americans from Emerson (whose final despairing estimate of Shakespeare is not mentioned) to Professor Stoll (whose most important monographs are neglected for several of his lesser studies), treated in a series of chapters headed "England." And Professor Sisson is condemned by an early contribution to appear under "France." It would not, however, be fair to infer unfamiliarity with contemporary scholarship, though Mr. Ralli seems most impressed with the Robertsonian heresy.

Yet, after making due allowance for every man's right to be as Platonical as he pleases, I remain dubious about the author's expertness. Goethe on Hamlet is flatly rejected; but Coleridge is praised for being one of those critics "who read more into their subjects than the text warrants." No one, to be sure, is fit to write about Shakespeare who supposes that a *literal* reading of the text brings to life the poet's meaning—of course that slayeth. But the text must never be forgotten. It is not a trapeze, from which the critical acrobat is to hurl himself through the more or less pure ether at the top of the tent, to land God knows where—on another ticklish swing, or in the arms of a fellow practitioner, or in the net—but, wherever, as a consequence of his own fantastic agility; it is a score, to be scrutinized, not after the fashion of many a lesser maestro, but with learning, imagination, and reverence, very much in the way a conductor like Toscanini gradually brings himself closer to Beethoven's or Wagner's wishes. Criticism, scholarship, the laboratory sciences themselves, may and often do profit from pure inspiration; yet art remains another thing. A work of art

may come into existence as naturally as a child does (though, while conception remains in both cases mysterious, birth is unquestionably facilitated by the application of a technique—in both cases); but first-rate criticism, that is, criticism both inspiring and realistic, calls for reason all the way along.

Mr. Ralli, who holds Coleridge the divine critic, does not mean that he was a masterly reader of score, perceiving the composer's intentions through the imperfect medium of notation and expression marks. Instead, we are told again, in transcendental phrase, how "the mystic feels his individual mind merging into a larger mind"—which is all very well when you are paying a visit in Xanadu, but extremely ill when you are trying to decide whether Iago's villainy is sufficiently motivated, or whether Hamlet delays unduly, or whether it was Shakespeare who invented that vulgar fellow, the porter at Inverness. For the Emersonian "Over-Soul" read "Shakespeare," and for the Emersonian "bard" read "Coleridge," and you have Mr. Ralli's idea of how the great romantic critic (in whom there is so much to praise, would his admirers more observingly distill it out!) arrived at "absolute critical truth." *Sic!*

Aside from Mr. Ralli's fundamental misconception, a serious weakness arises from his apparent belief that if "praise overbears blame" we have good criticism. Something, no doubt, can be said for using Shakespeare as a touchstone; but it is not unjust to observe that at many points Mr. Ralli is less concerned with the plays than with the dramatist's reputation. Incredible as it may seem, the name of Shaw does not appear in this book. Nor in view of the radical character of recent revisions in method and interpretation, was it wise, in a work published in 1932, to stop short with 1925. Nevertheless, while one can not escape the conviction that a great opportunity has not been firmly grasped, and that for laymen the author's commentary is likely to be for many years a powerful contribution to obscurantism, Mr. Ralli offers the student a very useful collection of materials. Its usefulness is unfortunately somewhat impaired by bad organization. The critical pieces are arranged in a woodenly chronological order, so that successive efforts by a single writer are often split apart, in several cases into both volumes, by intervening contributions from others; and the index is woefully inadequate.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch. Herausgegeben Im Auftrage Der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 68 (Neue Folge IX. Band). Leipzig, 1932.

The present volume of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* comes well up to the old standard of its best days, in size, content, etc. The

features which it has evolved in these sixty-odd years are known to all of us. Its *Bücherschau* and *Zeitschriftenschau* continue to give a brief summary of the year's publications on Shakspere. This year, because of illness and other circumstances, only a few books are presented, but others are promised for the next volume.

One is reminded that in recent years various successful attempts have been made to supplement these features of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*. But we still need to wait some years after the fact before we can get bibliography, index, summaries, etc. all together. It is time that the more mechanical features were gathered together in one project, somewhat analogous perhaps to *Science Abstracts*. We ought to have immediately abstracts of all the essential facts and conclusions of every item on Shakspere, but wholly without comment. Most other agencies could continue as now, and themselves be abstracted. With such a system of properly indexed abstracts, one might have some hope of keeping within sight of Shaksperean research.

The *Theaterschau* indicates continued German interest in the acting of Shakspere. The *Nekrologie* records the passing of the great Eduard Sievers, "der bedeutendste Sprachgelehrte unserer Zeit." The *Aufsätze* contains several interesting articles, though many of them of more purely German interest. In an article "Zur Shakespeare-Stenographie," Professor Max Förster directs his attention chiefly to an attempt at invalidating the conclusions of W. Matthews on "Shorthand and the Bad Shakespeare Quartos," who had concluded against the use of stenography. Bright's "Characterie Table" is reproduced in facsimile.

There are two articles by Americans. Professor Draper presents "Some Details of Italian Local Colour in 'Othello,'" to the conclusion that, "The plays show a strange mixture of ignorance and knowledge—perhaps the natural consequence of an education largely self-acquired." Perhaps. But it is the reviewers's impression that the majority of Shakspere's contemporaries who had the advantage of a formal education also show concerning Italy this same strange mixture of ignorance and knowledge. For knowledge of Italy did not come principally through the schools, but through other channels, at least as accessible to Shakspere as to the average "educated" person of his day.

Dr. Tannenbaum contributes "Notes on 'The Comedy of Errors,'" an interesting and important article devoted chiefly to textual matters, and by consequence necessarily taking frequent issue with Professor J. Dover Wilson. Professor Wilson thinks the copy was prepared by dictation to a scribe. Dr. Tannenbaum gives an impressive list of errors such as are known to have resulted from Shakspere's "calligraphic peculiarities" in substantiation of his argument that the copy was holograph. A further observation, important when proved true, is that, "Poets, even dramatic poets,

it may be reasonably asserted, are watchful of their verse and take pains, almost instinctively, to write their verses as they sound in their ears." This principle Dr. Tannenbaum aptly illustrates from the surviving copies of Middleton's *Game At Chesse*. But such a principle, when demonstrated for a given author, can show only relative closeness to the author's manuscript, never absolute identity with it.

Dr. Tannenbaum then submits a formidable list of emendations. Many of these, however, are only for the purpose of making the printed text exhibit the meter, as "T'admit" for "To admit." All are interesting, and most of them, I believe, are possible. But few, if any of them, are necessary. That is, so long as the present text makes sense, it is dangerous to emend it, lest we be merely "improving" Shakspere. In evaluating these emendations, the reader will need to be well on his guard, for occasionally Dr. Tannenbaum, like Homer—or the rest of us—nods. For instance, he writes on 1. 2, 40, "Inasmuch as the distressed father cannot know or take it for granted that his missing children are unhappy, we must, it seems to me, read 'unhappily lose myself.'" But the speaker is not the father; it is one of the sons, the gist of whose preceding speeches as well as of this one is that he is unhappy. Yet such a list of suggested emendations from one who knows his Elizabethan handwriting as does Dr. Tannenbaum is highly suggestive, and some of his suggestions may win converts. The article is of such importance that it may not safely be ignored.

T. W. BALDWIN

University of Illinois

BRIEF MENTION

Modern Language Notes extends a cordial welcome to *ELH*, *A Journal of English Literary History*, published by The Tudor and Stuart Club of the Johns Hopkins University. This attractively printed periodical is unique in several respects: it is edited by young men, it is sponsored by a university literary club, it contains no reviews, it appears three times a year, it costs only \$1.50. The length of time that a learned article dealing with English literature must wait before publication makes clear the need of another magazine in this field. The first two issues of *ELH* promise a journal of high standards which should be supported by all those interested in the scholarly study of English literature.

Letters of Robert Browning. Collected by T. J. WISE and edited by T. L. HOOD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933. Pp. xx + 390. Perhaps the most interesting thing about these letters is their extreme dulness. The strange dissociation in Browning between the poet and the ordinary man comes out more strikingly than ever in these prosaic pages. There might well, indeed, have been rather fewer of them. Everybody writes, and nobody in his senses wants to read, casual notes of the type—"I am very sorry indeed to hear that you are unwell . . . I shall be delighted to dine with you next Friday. . . ." Life is too short. Surely an editor may be expected to edit such trivialities away.

Apart from this, the annotation is careful and thorough, although there are a few omissions. For example, Browning's reference to the kissing of the poet "Chasselain" (*sic*) by "Marguerite of Navarre" seems to be a garbled memory of Alain Chartier and Margaret of Scotland; the ludicrous slip of the poet, with his passion for odd words, in the "Cowls and twats" of *Pippa Passes* might have been at least partly explained; and it is untrue to say that Beddoes' *Improvisatore* has never been reprinted (see Gosse's edition of 1928). Considering the doubts that have been thrown on Gosse's story of the horror which prevented Browning from examining the box of Beddoes manuscripts, which Gosse was allowed to see in 1883, it is of some interest, as rather confirming Gosse, that in 1886 Browning still confesses ignorance of its contents to Dykes Campbell—which is not a little surprising in view of the fact that it had been in his possession since 1872. Finally, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the recipient of the letters quoted on page 371 of the commentary is clearly William Michael Rossetti, not Dante Gabriel.

F. L. LUCAS

King's College, Cambridge, England

The Lost Plays and Masques 1500-1642. By GERTRUDE MARIAN SIBLEY. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv + 210. \$2.00. "Concerning the lost plays of the period 1558 [later extended to 1500] to 1642, I have attempted to bring together all that is actually known and, in general, what has been surmised by modern scholars. Under each entry I have first cited the contemporary references to the plays, such as records of performances, notices in publishers' advertisements, allusions in controversial pamphlets, diaries, histories, and dramas of the period, items of expense for costumes and properties, formal licenses, and entries in the *Stationers' Register*. Next I have summarized the opinions of the more trustworthy scholars as to the nature of the plots, or as to possible identifications with extant plays." Masques are to receive

less full treatment. "Finally, in a separate group I have listed the English plays known to have been acted in Germany, most of which are either lost or hard to identify."

This is an excellent scheme of procedure. But one has some misgivings on missing the name of Creizenach from the list of "trustworthy scholars," especially when the lost English plays acted in Germany are to receive a special listing. That list itself is puzzling, "English Plays With Known Titles Acted in Germany." But one will look in vain here or elsewhere in the volume for such titles as *Julio und Hyppolita*, or *Tugend und Liebesstreit*, unless he knows the titles of the lost English plays of which they are supposed to be versions. A handbook which requires that the user already have greater knowledge than it supplies is to that extent useless. An index, or cross-titling would have helped this particular defect.

As one begins glancing through, on the first page his eye falls upon the startling information that *Absalon* was, "By Thomas or John Watson; a Latin play c. 1540, performed at St. John's College, Cambridge." There is no question that this play was by Thomas Watson, later Bishop of Lincoln. The attribution to John Watson has been compiled from the "trustworthy" Fleay. Surely a compiler with all the essential facts on the cards before her ought to have caught so patent an error and have cast it into outer darkness. Else, she should have made no attempt at critical summary at all.

Perhaps the reviewer has merely had extreme ill-luck in selecting his passages, but at least his experience should serve as a warning that ill-luck may be had.

T. W. BALDWIN

University of Illinois

The Great Duke of Florence by PHILIP MASSINGER. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JOHANNE M. STOCKHOLM. (Bryn Mawr dissertation.) Baltimore, 1933. Pp. [vi] + xvi + 234. *Philip Massinger's The Unnatural Combat*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by ROBERT STOCKDALE TELFER. Princeton: University Press, 1932. Pp. viii + 196. \$2.50. (Princeton Studies in English, 7.) In a well printed volume, Miss Stockholm has given students of the drama an accurate text, 124 pages of admirably arranged notes, mostly glossarial, a full bibliography, and a long introductory essay. Accepting the Edgar-Alfrida plot of *A Knack to Know a Knave* as Massinger's chief source, she traces the literary history of this story from the earliest chronicles to *The King's Henchman* (1927). More important is her conjectural account of how Massinger may have received the story by way of John Green and the English actors at Gratz in 1608 with their *Herzog von Florentz*.

Mr. Telfer's text of *The Unnatural Combat* is not without flaws. In one section of sixteen pages, for example, there are thirty-six unnoted departures from the quarto readings. The text, by the way, seems to be based on the copy in the Princeton University Library without reference to other copies. The printer, E. G., is identified as Edward Griffin. Despite numerous inaccuracies in detail, the notes are generally adequate. If, as seems likely, the meaning of 1, i, 53-5, is "I'll teach thee beyond thy years," punctuation should be inserted after "yeares" and not after "thee." Whether we agree that *The Unnatural Combat* should be dated 1621 (with Fleay) or 1624, Mr. Telfer's case for the later date demands serious consideration. And so do his arguments that Massinger's source was not, as has been generally supposed, the Cenci story. Instead, Mr. Telfer urges that the young Massinger went back a decade or two to Beaumont and Fletcher's popular *King and No King* for his chief themes, (1) unnatural hatred, and (2) unnatural love, and borrowed details from *The Laws of Candy*, in which he had himself collaborated. The arguments are not conclusive, but they make impossible the continued bland acceptance of the Cenci story as the source.

JAMES G. MC MANAWAY

The Johns Hopkins University

The Mind of Poe and Other Studies. By KILLIS CAMPBELL. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. x + 242. \$2.50. Professor Campbell has long since established (by his editions of the Poems in 1917 and of the Tales in 1927) his reputation as a trustworthy editor and critic of Poe. The seven papers which make up the present volume, though originally presented at widely different times and places, carry on his studies with a single purpose, for they all deal with questions long in controversy and all were undertaken, "With a view to understanding the facts in the case."

Such objectivity is particularly desirable in the study of Poe, for since Griswold began it with his malign obituary signed *Ludwig*, writers about Poe have tended to fall into the two camps of attack and passionate defense. Even the most recent biographers, working after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, have not been able to escape the traditional mood. In such escape Professor Campbell is successful. The method throughout is that of an opinion from the bench fully documented with references to the evidence. If one misses in it the warmth of the author's own feeling about Poe or the glow of his imagination fusing the material into a new alloy, it is because these methods of treatment have been rigidly excluded.

The title essay, which takes as its starting point Lanier's com-

ment that Poe "did not know enough," is followed by similar studies of contemporary opinion of Poe, of the Griswold controversy, of the background of Poe's works and self-revelation in them, of his literary origins, and, finally, of the Poe canon. The discussion moves quietly and steadily, with such a wealth of reference that the footnotes would make a fair bibliography of Poe, and the conclusions show that the truth ordinarily lies between the extremes of opinion that have been somewhat recklessly expressed.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Education of Shakespeare: Illustrated from the Schoolbooks in Use in his Time. By GEORGE A. PLIMPTON. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. Pp. x + 140. \$2.00. This little book is not particularly addressed to scholars, but any scholar will be glad to own it. Lavishly illustrated, chiefly by facsimiles of their title pages, it surveys "such of the books for teachers, the courses of study of Shakespeare's time, and the textbooks likely to have been used at Stratford as are in [the author's] library." Since Mr. Plimpton's collection is unique, and since his observations and summaries are both pleasant and admirably organized, he offers his readers a fascinating and instructive ramble among the Tudor schoolbooks.

H. S.

Les Enfances Guillaume, Chanson de geste du XIII^e siècle. Editée par J.-L. PERRIER. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies. Pp. ix + 151. \$1.50. This edition of one of the less well-known chansons de geste of the William cycle hardly does justice to its subject. In its superficial introduction of seven pages no attempt is made to place the poem in its setting or to discuss the significant question of its relation to the rest of the cycle. The editor states that the chanson, "sous sa forme actuelle, ne paraît remonter qu'au commencement du XIII^e siècle," but gives no proof for this statement and does not undertake to date—or localize—the original. A short paragraph is devoted to language and versification in which only the language of the scribe is mentioned; there is no treatment of assonances or syllabification with a view to differentiating the language of the scribe from that of the author, and many characteristic linguistic traits of the text are passed over in silence. The Bibliography lists A. Becker's edition of the second part of the *Enfances Guillaume* but does not record H. Hingst's edition of the first part (1918) or the important studies of the whole cycle by Ph. Aug. Becker, Jean-

roy and Lot. Misprints are not uncommon in the text, e. g., there should be no period at the end of l. 39, the quotation marks should be deleted in l. 52, *on* should read *ou* in l. 61, etc. A small Glossary and a clumsy apparatus for indicating variants complete an edition which because of its convenient format may prove useful but which in many essentials leaves much to be desired.

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

"An Index to mediaeval French medical receipts," published by ADA GOLDBERG and HYMEN SAYE in the *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University* (Supplement to the Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital) 1, 10 (December, 1933) pp. 435-466, furnishes an interesting and useful list of diseases for which remedies are found in the scattered medical recipes in Old French which have been printed, exclusive of the more important Old French medical works. To Miss Goldberg's and Mr. Saye's bibliography of works concerning the physician or medicine in Old French literature may be added the following: Boutarel, M.: *La Médecine dans notre théâtre comique depuis ses origines jusqu'au XVI^e siècle* (n. p., 1918); Witkowski, G.-J.: *Les Accouchements dans les beaux-arts, dans la littérature et au théâtre* (Paris, G. Steinheil, 1894) pp. 441-453, *Le Mal qu'on a dit des médecins*, deuxième série (Paris, G. Steinheil, n. d.) pp. 1-10, and *Les Médecins au théâtre, de l'antiquité au dix-septième siècle* (Paris, A. Maloine, 1905) pp. 62-96. Joseph Hariz's *La Part de la médecine arabe dans l'évolution de la médecine française*, Paris diss. (Paris, Imprimerie "Graphique," 1922) gives a vocabulary (pp. 153-158) of French words, including medical terms, derived from Arabic.

GEORGE MOODY

Wesleyan University

Medieval Faith and Fable, by J. A. MACCULLOCH, with a foreword by Sir J. G. FRAZER. Boston (Marshall Jones), 1932. Pp. 345. The author says of his book (p. 7), "it is not a history of the Middle Ages, but it tries to show what men thought or believed or said or did regarding many things which if not wholly medieval are yet characteristic of the period. . . . An attempt has been made to trace the origin, in the earlier period, of certain beliefs and practices, and their development through the centuries. . . . The subject of medieval witchcraft has barely been touched, for that, in all its aspects, would require a volume to itself. At a

later time it may form a sequel to this book." One hopes that this sequel may come, and come soon, for Canon MacCulloch's present volume is a truly admirable piece of work. The book was written, not so much for the scholar as for the layman interested in medieval Christianity and in the superstitions which flourished alongside it (or in connexion with it). But scholar as well as layman will find in the volume a trustworthy and sympathetic account of an important aspect of medieval life and thought.

K. M.

An Essay on Poetics. By THADDEUS REAMY BRENTON. London: Oxford University Press, 1932. 58 pp. \$1.25. The theme of this highly dogmatic, and sometimes angry, little book is the sacredness of form and the aberrancy of the "moderns." It is a doctrine that commands more patient hearing than it did a few years ago, when the moderns were dazzling us all with promises which they have not kept; but the strict simplicity of Mr. Brenton's views may alarm those who would gladly follow him. He is not at all afraid of such terms as 'pleasantness,' 'evenness,' and 'elegance'; and in the discussion of metre and rhythm (which forms the chief content of the essay) he goes so far as to suggest a doubt whether rhythm as such is a phenomenon of poetry: "If, in general, rhythm aside from metre is a poetical tenet, it is only secondary to, and superimposed upon, metre" (p. 15). The influence of Lascelles Abercrombie's *Principles of English Prosody* is apparent here; and those who were disturbed by the antithesis set up in that work between rhythm and metre will suffer some real shocks from Mr. Brenton's elaboration of it.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton, New Jersey

John Galsworthy: le Romancier. By EDOUARD GUYOT. Paris: H. Didier, 1933. Pp. xix + 233. Fr. 12. (Écrivains "étrangers" series.) Presenting an over-facile picture of the novelist as a typical impassive British patrician, emotional only when dominated by inherited prejudices or moved by a kind of *panthéisme sentimental*, M. Guyot nevertheless says many good things well of Galsworthy, is often shrewd and sound in his generalizations, and his book is entitled to special attention because he was in correspondence with Galsworthy during part of the time of its composition and because it will be followed by the probably more conclusive and profitable *John Galsworthy: le Conte, le Dramaturge, l'Artiste*.

ARTHUR E. DUBOIS

Baltimore

Judith Dramen des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts, nebst Luthers Vorrede zum Buch Judith, herausgegeben von DR. MARTIN SOMMERFELD, Junker und Dünnhaupt. Berlin, 1933. 185 pp. Professor Sommerfeld has reprinted six Judith dramas from the original editions, thus preparing a very useful text for the study of the drama as well as the history of staging. The plays selected cover the period from the late medieval drama staged with mansions down to the beginnings of the opera on stages equipped with painted scenery. It is an excellent touch to reprint also Luther's introduction to the Book of Judith in which the reformer expresses the opinion—naively arrived at in judging by analogy from his own environment—that the Jews presented this story theatrically as the passion play was acted in Germany.

A. E. ZUCKER

University of Maryland

Der dramatische Vortrieb in Goethes "Torquato Tasso." Von PEPI ENGEL. (Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, hrsg. von Franz Saran, Bd. 33 Erlangen) Halle, 1933. Pp. 77. "Vortrieb" is in this dissertation used to mean what is usually designated as dramatic action. The author believes that Goethe's *Tasso* has been generally considered undramatic because it does not conform to Freytag's or any other scheme of rising and descending action; in reality it is highly dramatic, conforming to the type of "Wellenhandlung." Graphs and a table of "Stimmungspunkte" are added to show how the drama ought to be played. The only way to convince the reader of the force of this argument would be to show him such a performance on the stage, since this theory allows vast room for subjective interpretation.

A. E. ZUCKER

University of Maryland

The Student's Milton. Edited by FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON. Revised edition. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1933. Pp. liv + 1170 + 119. \$5.00. Although the first edition of this work printed in good-sized type more of Milton's writings than one would have supposed could be included in a single volume, Professor Patterson, in addition to collating afresh all his texts, has now added about 200 pages: complete translations of the *Prolusions* and *Familiar Letters*, further selections from the prose, the four early lives, and extensive notes. Truly "here is God's plenty."

R. D. H.

The Prelude (Text of 1805). Edited by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. Pp. xxxix + 327. \$1.50. (Oxford Editions of Standard Authors.) This edition is much less expensive and easier to handle than the monumental work of which it is a simplification. In it also one may read the first completed text of *The Prelude* free from distracting comparisons with earlier and later versions. Yet some of the most valuable things in Professor de Selincourt's earlier work are the long passages from Y and W that were later rejected, other previously unpublished fragments, and the variants in the early manuscripts which give to many passages and episodes a coloring different from what they have even in A. Since none of these are included in the present work it will be of little use to the scholar and may mislead the layman.

R. D. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF CIPERIS DE VIGNEVAUX. In attempting to re-date *Ciperis de Vigneaux*, Professor Krappe (*MLN.*, 1934, pp. 255-260) evidently had no knowledge of the recent investigations of a Hungarian student of the poem,¹ and thus, his conclusions will not prove acceptable upon closer consideration. His hypothesis, apparently not based upon a study of the text itself, endeavors, despite admittedly weighty objections, to identify an episodic hero of the poem, Philippe, a king of Hungary, with Sigismund, king of Hungary and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, an outstanding personality of the first half of the fifteenth century. Three analogies are pointed out between the fictitious and the historic characters: 1, both are related to the emperor; 2, both are threatened by a Mohammedan invasion; 3, both beg and obtain aid from the King of France. On the strength of these similarities, Professor Krappe goes way beyond Cl. Fauchet² who placed the composition of the epic in the twelfth century, and P. Paris³ who assigned it to the fourteenth, and conjectures that *Ciperis* was written between 1396 and 1415, his point of departure being the battle of Nicopolis.

Hungary played in the mediaeval French epic a purely conventional rôle⁴ which the hypothesis in question ignores in asserting that "what the poet obviously had in mind was the Hungary of the fourteenth century."

¹ V. Machovich, *Ciperis de Vigneaux (Chanson de geste a XIV. sz.-ból)*, Bibl. de l'Institut Français à l'Université de Budapest 7, 1928.

² *Recueil de l'origine de langue et poésie françoise*, Paris, 1581, p. 115.

³ *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXVI, 19-42.

⁴ L. Karl, "La Hongrie et les Hongrois dans les Chansons de geste," *Revue des Langues Romanes*, LI (1907), 1-38.

Mediaeval Hungary, in spite of her manifold relations to France, remained for all the authors of the *Chansons de geste*, a fantastic kingdom, a country *pardela la mer*. Memories of the first crusade caused its inhabitants to be represented as heathen in the earlier monuments;⁵ when mutual relations improved, the Hungarians appeared as Christians, but in scores of epics dealing with the Merovingian times or with Charlemagne they popped up without any regard for historic or geographic realities. There is not a grain of historic truth to be found in the numerous poems in which the Hungarians appear as incidental characters. *Ciperis* faithfully follows these traditions. The author knows absolutely nothing of Hungary besides the trivial fact that its ruler is a "riche roy." The only authentically Hungarian datum in it is the occasional praise bestowed upon the famous Hungarian horses. The poet presents a mythical city, named Morons, as capital of Hungary; the hypothesis, disregarding the tremendous distance from Buda to the Dalmatian coast, locates this city in Croatia, or rather, in Dalmatia, since Morons is assumed to be south of Spalato. Does not this interpretation defeat the very aim of the hypothesis, *i. e.* the identification of the fabulous characters and events with historic ones? A contemporary of Froissart would surely have known of *Boude, la cité grande et bonne* in which the French knights embarking on the dire adventure of Nicopolis were treated handsomely.⁶ The city of Morons cannot be identified for the simple reason that it existed only in the imagination of a Picard rimester. The character of the imaginary Hungarian king is likewise quite in keeping with the conventions of the epic; indeed, as was pointed out by P. Paris, it is essentially the same as that of the Hungarian king in another poem of the period, *Charles le Chauve*; Philippe is the name of Hungarian kings in two more contemporary epics, *Florence de Rome* and *Naissance du Chevalier au cygne*. The matrimonial luck through which Philippe becomes related to the emperor surely does not identify him with Sigismund. The fact that the latter was related to two emperors by the closest ties of blood, being the son of Charles IV and the brother of Wenceslaus, contradicts the hypothesis rather than strengthens it. Add to this that Philippe, the fictitious Hungarian king, is presented in the poem as the son of the King of France, a conventional but significant motif which Professor Krappe leaves entirely out of consideration: this relationship alone would be sufficient to destroy the hypothesis. Let me mention in passing that other Hungarian kings were actually related by marriage to emperors, such as St. Stephen (979-1038) to Otto I, whose grand-niece he married, or Andrew III (1291-1301), who married the daughter of Albert.

The campaign of 1396 was not so exclusively French as presented by the hypothesis; indeed, it was a crusade in which Germans, Italians, and other nations also took part. True enough, the French had the lion's share in it, but, in reality, Sigismund's territory was not threatened by immediate

⁵ P. Boissonade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923.

⁶ *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart*, ed. J.-A.-C. Buchon, Paris, 1837, III, 236.

invasion. This objection, however, could be counterbalanced by the consideration that a French poet would have been apt to exaggerate the danger from which France saved Hungary. But the fact that the battle of Nicopolis was a crushing defeat must not be forgotten, and especially not if it is assumed that the poem was composed immediately afterwards. No less a witness than Froissart records the lasting memories of the battle of Nicopolis: "et durèrent ces lamentations moult longuement parmi le royaume de France et ailleurs aussi."⁷ It is unthinkable that such a catastrophe, involving thousands of deaths and the captivity of the flower of the French nobility, could have been represented within twenty years as a great national victory.

The hypothesis fails to meet one more objection. Sigismund was elected emperor in 1410. Since the epic contains no reference to the future elevation of Philippe to the imperial throne, the date 1415 would be dubious for this reason alone.

Thus, we may safely accept Machovich's conclusions. The epic chooses Hungary merely as an exotic kingdom, the location of which remained hazy to the majority of the readers. The struggle against the *heathen*, a conventional motif of the epic, may be the echo of the many fruitless minor crusades of the fourteenth century. Morons, the imaginary capital of Hungary, and Philippe, the fictitious king of Hungary, are devoid of all historic authenticity. Lacking any positive proof of agreement between the historic facts and the fabulous tale, one must give credence to the internal evidences enumerated by Machovich, which tend to confirm the assumption that *Ciperis* was composed about the middle of the fourteenth century.

ARPAD STEINER

Hunter College

POE'S POLITIAN AGAIN. Professor Karl J. Arndt's article in *MLN.*, **XLIX**, 101-4, concerning the indebtedness of a passage in *Politian* to Goethe's *Mignon* omits what must have been an intermediate source: the opening lines of Byron's *The Bride of Abydos*,

Know ye the land where the cypress and myrtle
Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime?

in which Byron apparently leans upon Goethe's "Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blühn?" As Poe borrowed from Byron in other cases (cf. *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Campbell, Boston, 1917, pp. xliv-xlv, where parallels between Poe and Byron are listed; *Politian*, however, is not included in the list), is it not probable that *Politian* is also indebted to the English poet?

WILLIAM BRYAN GATES

Texas Technological College

⁷ *O. c.*, III, 273.

EUGENE MANUEL, UHLAND, and SIR WILLIAM JONES. Readers of Prof. Hatfield's "To an *Albumblatt* of Uhland" (*MLN.*, **XLIX**, 5, 301-02, May, 1934) may be interested to know that there is an exact French parallel to the quatrain of Sir William Jones and that of Uhland there quoted. This is a quatrain called "le Commencement et la fin" by Eugène Manuel, a contributor to the 1869 and 1876 *recueils* of *le Parnasse contemporain*, and runs:

Enfant, à votre première heure,
On vous sourit, et vous pleurez,
Puissiez-vous, quand vous partirez,
Sourire, alors que l'on vous pleure.

The little poem is found in Manuel's *Pages intimes* (1866—1st ed., Paris, Michel Lévy frères, 1866, p. 178) and was written between 1860 and 1866. It is possible that Manuel was acquainted with Uhland's poem, but it is more likely that the idea underlying the "Persian tetristick" of which Sir William Jones' quatrain was a "literal translation" (*vide* the article of Prof. Hatfield) had become a commonplace in Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century. In any case, the existence of the quatrain, in almost identical words, in Persian, English, German and French is an interesting instance of literary migration.

It is an odd fact that, thirteen years after the appearance of Manuel's *Pages intimes*, the theme of "le commencement et la fin" was again cast into the quatrain-mold, without any acknowledgment of indebtedness to a previous poet. This quatrain is called "la Bénédiction du berceau" and is the final poem in *les Petits hommes* (Paris, Hachette, 1879), by Louis Ratisbonne (1827-1900), translator of Dante's *Divine Comedy* into French verse, author of a number of volumes of verse for children, but now best known as literary executor of Alfred de Vigny, whose *Journal d'un poète* he edited and published, chez Lemerre, in 1885. The quatrain runs:

A la lumière, enfant, tu viens d'ouvrir les yeux.
Tout le monde sourit: seul, tu pleures, tu cries.
Dieu fasse, au jour suprême, à l'heure des adieux,
Que tout le monde pleure et toi seul tu souries.

Manuel's octosyllabic version is much more effective than Ratisbonne's alexandrine quatrain.

AARON SCHAFFER

The University of Texas

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